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and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is somewhat relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or mother's brother would do that.

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a violation of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the will of those who have the ordering of them.

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A European standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay, for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to converse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting that they were conversing.

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the following to say:

> Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods,

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As the lineages (*haa*) are patrilineal, a *fahu* usually does not belong to the lineage in which he exercises his right. In Cook's time (1777) the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, of the Haa Fale Fisi, was *fahu* to the Tui Tonga Pau, as was also Latunipulu's sister the Tamaha Moungalakepa. Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 414) says of Latunipulu: "Latooliboolooo assumed the privilege of taking anything from the peopie, even if it belonged to the king." Speaking of Latunipulu's little son in Eua, he says: "The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little Tammaha was."

Although the *fahu* owes his position primarily to his mother, nevertheless the *fahu* whose father is a great chief wields greater influence than the *fahu* whose father is a petty chief or commoner, even if the mother of each *fahu* is of exalted rank.

It is quite possible that cross-cousin marriage in Tonga is genetically connected with the *fahu* concept, for it is usually the mother's brother's daughter whom a man marries. In other words, he may make demand in his capacity of *fahu*.

ADOPTION

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particularly children are adopted by aunts. Tongan genealogies give examples of children adopted by their paternal aunt (*mehekitanga*), such a child being called *"koe tama to he mehekitanga."* (For an example see 26, p. 146.) In general, a child adopted by a woman is known as her "child to her husband."

The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.

According to the high chief Ata of Tongatabu, an adopted son may supersede a real son as heir to the father's title. Ata (who was childless) stated that if he and his wife were to adopt the wife's brother's son, that individual would become his heir even though he had an older son. It is seldom that a child receives his father's name, but it is customary to give an adopted son the name of his adoptive father.

Adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality. So well established is the custom that even today Europeans are adopted in much the manner

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as was Mariner by Mafihape, Finau's wife (41, vol. 1, p. 84). Thus, in December, 1920, the Queen of Tonga arranged for the adoption of Norman Collocott (the youngest son of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott) by the heir apparent to the throne of Tonga, who assumed the relation of father. The prince was but two years old and Norman four. The Queen bestowed upon Norman the name of Tokeimoana. About the same time a half-caste gentleman named Von Treskow adopted the heir apparent, and in consequence will furnish him henceforth with yams and other produce from his plantations.

From information furnished by Fison, Morgan (45, p. 574) states that a child may be adopted as a grandchild: "It should be noted that if a Tongan's grandchildren proper die out, he takes one of his father's sister's greatgrandchildren, who is then *called* his grandchild."

The present high chief Ata, whose birth name was Solomon Piutau, was adopted by Jane Lafulafu, who was sister of the *toutai* Ula, a distant relative of Ata's father. Ata was removed from his parents' home shortly after his first birthday and given the name Solomon Ula (or more fully Ulamoleka). Jane died while Ata was very small and her daughter Ana brought up Ata. Jane Lafulafu had no sons and Ana was barren. John Mohulamu, Ana's husband, was of matapule rank, but served no chief. Later, Solomon was elevated by the king to the Ata chieftainship, he being the nearest heir to the Ata chief who died.

KINSHIP TERMS

The Tongan system of kinship terms appears to lack true terms of affinity. Kinship terms are extended liberally to collateral relatives, though not to such a great degree as in the Hawaiian system.

In addition to being designated by one of the regular kinship, the status of a relative may be so described. Thus, the paternal grandfather who is designated by the word *kui*, the generic term for grandparent, may be described as *koe tamai a eku tamai* (the father of my father). Or again a man's father's sister's son, who is designated by one of the words for brother, may be described as *koe tama tangata oe tuofefine a eku tamai* (the child male of the sister of my father). By this scheme all relatives more than one step removed from the speaker may be described. Side by side therefore are a "classificatory" method and a "descriptive" method of designating relatives.

Terms of relationship are not used in address, but personal names are so used. Even small children address their parents by their personal names. In this regard the Tongan practice is opposite that of most North American Indians, the English practice being intermediate between these two extremes.

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relatives, and to people who have some attribute in common, as *haa eiki* (chiefs) and *haa matapule* (matapules or attendants).

The lineages are patrilineal. Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives, the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners. Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live. Thus the commoners living under the chief Ata are reckoned as of his lineage, Haa Ngata Motua. The landed chiefs of today are all grouped in lineages. Modern representatives of former powerful chiefs against whom the political situation has turned, and who have sunk to the status of commoners, are as a rule unconnected with the modern lineages. In the preludes of speeches before a company of chiefs various of the lineages are enumerated.

The lineages appear as one aspect of the Polynesian interest in genealogies. The whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs. Here and there a twig develops into a branch (Haa Havea); other twigs sprout forth and die, as for example the Haa Puipuifatu (descendants of the Tui Tonga Puipuifatu), the Haa Uluakimata (descendants of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II), the Haa Tatafu (descendants of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili), and the Haa Laimoana (descendants of the Tui Haa Takalaua Kafoa). Or perhaps a limb becomes huge and flourishing (Haa Ngata Motua), while the trunk (Haa Takalaua) ceases to flourish. Everything points to the necessity of a line of powerful chiefs for a nucleus about which the lineage groups itself. Without such chiefs it appears to wilt and die and its membership gradually aligns itself with other rising lineages. This process of realignment naturally contravenes the rule of patrilineal descent, which theoretically, and largely in practice, determines lineage membership. Adoption into lineages is practiced.

That all the modern *haa* have a chief as a nucleus, or trace their descent from an ancient chief, was attested by all informants. Thus, the venerable chief Tamale of Niutoua, Tongatabu, defined *haa*, as the people belonging to a great chief, all related by blood to him. Another informant (who belonged to a matapule family) said that the term would apply to the family of a chief, but not to that of a matapule or commoner (*tua*). I interpret this as meaning that today only chiefs are heads of *haa*.

The splitting of major lineages into minor ones is well illustrated by the Haa Ngata Motua, by its branch the Haa Vakatolo, and by the several sub-branches of the Haa Vakatolo. In time, it is possible that these branches may grow into major lineages. On the other hand, they may die out. Various such minor groupings were noted which may prove ultimately to be incipient major lineages.

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King George I belonged to the Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father; his mother was of the Haa Havea; he was adopted by the [Tui ?] Haa Teiho. William Tungi belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Taimi or Salote Toafilimoeunga belongs to the lineage of her father, the Haa Fale Fisi, her mother's lineage was the Haa Vaea. Fangupo of Vavau belongs to Haa Ngata Tupu, presumably through his father. John Tupou, of Nukualofa, belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Malakai Lavulo, of Pangai, Lifuka, belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua through his father. William Finau, to that of his father, Haa Fale Fisi, his mother's was the Haa Havea. John Nuku Finaulahi belonged to his father's Haa Ngata Motua, his father's mother was of the Haa Latu Hifo. Moungatonga of Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, belongs to Haa Takalaua. Naitoka belongs to Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father. He recognizes Ahomee of the Haa Vakatolo division of this lineage as his chief, to whom he is related. Although Naitoka was born at Nukualofa in central Tongatabu, his father was born in the Hihifo (western) district of that island, which is the stronghold of the Haa Ngata Motua.

Tracing of lineage through the mother is not considered proper and is usually followed only because the connection with the mother's *haa* gives greater prestige or because the father is a foreigner. If annoyed at something, a person might shift his allegiance from his father's to his mother's chief. Tamale, the aged and erudite chief of Niutoua, quoted the proverb, "He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he mahi" (The fish is hardly likely to swim backward), meaning that in *haa* reckoning a person would follow his father rather than his mother. Needless to say, where the tracing of lineage is correctly patrilinear, the mother's *haa* is remembered.

The following are examples of matrilinear reckoning of the *haa*:

Mafi, a woman, belongs to mother's lineage Haa Takalaua; mother, a woman of Lifuka Island, Haapai; father, a man of Niuatoputapu, to which place her mother was taken upon marriage. The *haa* of father not known.

Daniel Faupula, son of John Faupula, who was a Fijian of Lakemba, belongs to the Haa Fale Fisi through his mother who belonged to the Haa Ngana division of that lineage.

John Fakailoatonga belongs to Haa Takalaua through his father Tuakilotoa.

John Feiloakitau Kaho, younger brother of the late premier Tui Vakano, states that he and his brothers belong to the Haa Havea through their mother. Their father was of the Haa Toutai Fokololo.

An adopted child belongs to the *haa* of the adoptive father.

Gods were connected with the various lineages and incidentally sacred animals in which the gods became incarnate. There is no belief in descent from the sacred animal. It is said that there were no badges or tattoo patterns to distinguish members of different lineages.

Agents or ambassadors (*malanga*) of certain of the great lineages seem to have resided with neighboring great lineages and acted as intermediaries in all their transactions of importance; for example:

Vahai was originally ambassador of the Haa Latu Hifo to the Haa Ngata Motua. He was invited by the Haa Ngata Motua to become a member and he accepted. Momotu, who resides with the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs at the seat of Ata, the head of this

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matapules, or commoners. However, the terms *eiki* (chief) and *tua* (commoner) are used also in a relative sense. Thus, throughout the Tongan social structure at its various levels, we find people performing analogous functions, receiving similar treatment and having like terms applied to them. To cite polar examples: Tungi, the Prince Consort, is *eiki* to a large district, and of the two girls Ika and Fakatoumafi (see page 18), Ika is *eiki* to Fakatoumafi. The district owes deference to Tungi, and Fakatoumafi owes deference to Ika.

Because of primogeniture, it is obvious that the descendants of younger siblings sink in rank. The commoner is the man in a line of descent that gets further and further from the head of the lineage with each succeeding generation. Regression is a simpler process than progression and for every person who rises in rank there are many who correspondingly sink. In a large measure, a person is the victim of the circumstances of his birth; his position in society is predetermined by his parentage, by his sex and by the order of his birth within the family. In modern Tonga with its constitutional government and its dual house of parliament there are, of course, possibilities open to the commoner which were closed to him in former times. But even in ancient times there is evidence that certain individuals managed to move up the social ladder slightly above the rung on which the circumstances of birth appear to have placed them.

For example, Latukefu, a member of the Haa Ngata Motua, is reckoned as a chief, although by blood he is a commoner. He is Tui Pangai (page 104) and his business is to examine the plantations of the people and to tapu food which will be desired by the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs or the Tui Kanokupolu. Latukefu is not a member of the Haa Ngata Motua by virtue of descent from the first Tui Kanokupolu, but by the adoption of one of his forefathers into the lineage. To-day he is recognized as a "brother of all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs." It is said that the original adoption was made because the Latukefu of that day was quite well off and was a very industrious agriculturist. This may not be true as anciently a chief might arbitrarily seize a commoner's goods; there was no necessity of making a chief out of a commoner merely to utilize his plantation produce, but at any rate, Latukefu to-day ranks the great matapule Motuapuaka. In the absence of Ahio and Ata, he is the president of the kava ring of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs.

Theoretically, the highest matapules are ranked by the lowest chiefs and anciently the position was recognized. But to-day the two great matapules Motuapuka and Lauaki, possess hereditary lands of considerable extent which places them in a position superior to many chiefs who are without hereditary lands.

Another factor which brings about a lessening of rank is marriage to women of low rank. One informant said that anciently a young chief might

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called Tui Malila.) This tortoise is said to have been left by Captain Cook but as a matter of fact it was left sometime in the nineteenth century by a passing sea captain.

The Tongan word for name is *hingoa*. A title is called *hingoa fakanofo* (appointment name), a nickname *hingoa fakatenetene*. In the matter of names the Tongans are very open-minded and are keen to accept foreign words as personal names. Evidence of this tendency is to be found in the large series of English Christian names which have been Tonganized, and now precede the Tongan personal name. The desire for new names results in some curious usages. Thus, I heard of a child in Nukualofa who was named Saiti after a Javanese who happened to be living in the house where the child was born. This name Saiti is likely to be perpetuated; perhaps it will be bestowed some years later on a child which the present bearer of the name may adopt. I encountered another Tongan child who bore the name Alameta, because a relative had voyaged to California and visited the city of Alameda.

To apply the names of chiefs to commoners is customary, and is sanctioned by the chiefs. Thus a Fijian in Nukualofa has the name Ulukalala, which was bestowed upon him by the great chief Ulukalala in place of the Fijian's former name Usaia.

In ancient times there would seem to have been occasional exchanges of names such as were prevalent in the Society Islands, but that such exchange was common in Tonga I very much doubt. The single example of exchange which came to my notice is in connection with the title Tuita (p. 138).

Name givers were usually but not necessarily close relatives of the child named. Europeans are often given Tongan names by Tongans. Thus, one of the sons of E. E. V. Collocott was given the name of Tokeimoana by the Queen. Mr. and Mrs. McKern's son, born in Tonga, was named Namoa by the great chief Ata, this being the name of one of the sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui. The reason for selecting this name was that Ata's mother is a descendant of Mumui. In Vavau I met a woman of high rank, the daughter of the late Tui Haa Teiho Paul Havea, who had been given both a regular name and a nickname by King George I. She was named Toafilimoeunga after the sister of the Tui Kanokupolu Vuna, and was given the nickname Taimi (English time), the significance of which will be discussed (p. 234).

Adoption invariably brings with it a new name which might in one sense be considered a nickname. The origin of the name Ulamoleka is an illustration. This is a name which the present Ata bore, following his adoption by the daughter of the *toutai* Ula. Ata's original name was Piutau. The Ulamoleka for whom the present Ata was named was originally called Ula,

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but was adopted by the *toutai* Leka. This first Ulamoleka (p. 142) was the son of Tongamana, who was the son of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. In spite of this coalescence of the two *toutai* titles in a single word, they continue to be distinct. A nickname applied in commemoration of meritorious service in battle, is Holakeituai, which means "run while there is time." These are words which may be uttered by troops to their commander as the fighting begins, in order to warn him away from danger. The present bearer of this name is John Tupou Holakeituai of Nukualofa. He bears also the nickname of Maumauvali which was bestowed upon him when he was a baby by Lolohea, the granddaughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. The name Holakeituai was first applied to John's father's father's father whose name was Tufui. Holokeituai seems to be in the nature of a title.

The nickname of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui was Mapatongiamanu which means "*mapa* fruit pecked by a bird." The nickname of Taimi was bestowed because of a remark which King George I made in connection with three Vavau chiefs (Tutoe, Fulivai, and Lutui) who had childless wives. The king remarked that it was a waste of time (*maumautaimi*) to keep childless wives, hence the name Taimi was given to the infant who was born about that time.

Every chief has a nickname which is applied to him at small informal kava parties and other informal gatherings. At a very formal kava party his real title would be called. To call a titled person by his pre-appointment name was to court trouble. To address a minor chief in such fashion might incur a thrashing. To so address a major chief would warrant death.

It is a common practice for girls to create nicknames, usually flower names, for the young men who call upon them and whose identity they may wish to veil. There is a long series of such euphonious names, such as Pipitongi which means "the *pipi* fruit cut so as to have a serrate edge," as for the ornamentation of garlands.

Some nicknames have a distinctly modern flavor, for instance, a Malakai Tupou of Pangai, Lifuka Island, bears the nickname of Fehokokalasini (Fehoko-kerosene), no doubt bestowed after some incident.

There are no family names in Tonga. (See p. 16.) Titles are the nearest approach to family names, but only one individual holds a title at a time. Also it is not the custom to give children the personal names of either parent, so that no semblance of family names appears even in the personal names. Children are, however, often named for relatives other than parents and certain names are favored in certain families, as, for example, Fatafehi in the Tui Tonga's family and Tupou in the Tui Kanokupolu's family.

The total number of names in each island group is governed in large

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him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the bush he will either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fellow townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives dare not avenge his death.

The two Nomuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams.

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nomuka informants knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had heard of witchcraft among other people.

Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915.

Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.)

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and clubs; and the women employed themselves in packing up bales of gnatoo* mats, &c.

One day, whilst these preparations were going forward, the king asked Mr. Mariner whether he had a mother living; upon his replying in the affirmative, he appeared much grieved that he should be separated so far from her. It is a custom in the Tonga islands, for men, (and sometimes women,) to adopt or choose a foster mother, even though they have their own natural mother living, with a view of being better provided with all necessaries and conveniences, as cloth, oil, food, &c. On this occasion the king appointed one of his wives, Mafi Habe, to be Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, telling him, that if there was any thing he wanted to make his situation more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing that in reason he might require. This woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.

At this time there lived in the island of Lefooga a female who for many years had been afflicted with insanity. She had become insane

* Gnatoo, a sort of cloth made of the bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree.

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could not construct them a little lighter; or at least, as they had ingenuity enough to make the guns, they ought to have, they said, the ingenuity also to make legs for them to walk with.

Being arrived at Neafoo, the king, his chiefs, matabooles, Mr. Mariner, and some of the Englishmen, went on board the canoes to pass the night. Mr. Mariner now, as well as in numerous other instances, found the advantage of having an adopted mother, by whom he was provided with plenty of good food, consisting of cooked yams, ripe bananas, and raw fish. They had partaken of no food all the day, and even now not above thirty or forty, consisting of chiefs and matabooles, got any thing to eat, for the time was too far advanced, and the common men too fatigued, to cook yams enough for themselves that night; and as to raw fish, it was considered too good, and at that time too scarce, to give to them *.

* The idea of eating raw fish is not one of the least revolting to the imagination; and we are too readily disposed to believe, that nothing but excessive hunger could render this species of food at all palatable: hence voyagers, on witnessing this act among the natives of these islands, have reasonably supposed them to be some of the lower orders much distressed for want of food (vide Labillardiere's voyage); but the fact is, raw fish is a very palatable diet, and is accordingly eaten as a matter of choice, not of necessity. Being strongly assured of this fact by Mr. Mariner, I made the trial, and repeated it several times upon mackarel, salmon,

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ing, that as he was a man, he ought to feel as a man, and not mingle his sorrows with those of women; but if he wished to express his love for Finow, who had adopted him as his son, and had given him the name of a son whom he had lost some years before*, he should demonstrate that love and respect for the memory of so good a father, by engaging his attentions in the interests of his family, particularly in those of himself, who was his lawful heir;—and not show his affliction by a silly profusion of tears and sighs, which was beneath the exalted character of a warrior.

About the middle of the night, no actual disturbance had taken place, but some of the prince's confidents, who were dispersed about to be on the watch, brought intelligence that *Voona* was holding secret conferences with some of the natives of Vavaoo. The prince, however, thought it advisable not to take any active measures, nor to appear to notice it: he therefore

* The name of this son was *Tógi Oŏcumméa*, (an iron axe) which was also the name of one of the gods of the sea: for as they only obtain iron axes from across the sea, they naturally attribute the advantages which they possess, in having such a useful intrument, to the bounty of a sea god, whom they have accordingly designated by this name. Finow's son, who was so called, was a great favourite of his father, who, when he adopted Mr. Mariner, gave him the same name, as a proof of his real esteem. Mr. M. always went by this name, or for shortness sake, *Tógi*.

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Thomas Eversfield and William Brown, (lads of 17 years of age), who afterwards returned on shore, refusing to go away*.

Mr. Mariner was much disappointed on finding that his adopted mother, Mafi Habe, was gone to a distant island to see some friend; the presents that he brought for her from the king and queen he left, therefore, with one of her relations, to be given to her as soon as she returned, with some presents from himself, to keep in remembrance of him. He sent on shore, to the island of Foa, for the old mataboole, the confident of Hala Api Api, and communicated to him the message from that chief. He also communicated to Toobo Toa the king's advice to him, viz. never to attempt the invasion of Vavaoo, but to confine himself to the cultivation and prosperity of his own islands: to which he replied, that war was necessary to keep the minds of his chiefs employed, that they might not meditate conspiracies; and that he should, therefore, direct his arms against some of the garrisons at the island of Tonga. He had the

* It must be mentioned, that two or three men belonging to the Port au Prince got away about eighteen months before, in a schooner which happened to touch at Vavaoo. Among these was William Towel, who now resides in Cross-street, Westmoreland-place, City-road, and follows the business of a hairdresser. Mr. Mariner was at that period at the Hapai islands, and knew nothing of the schooner's arrival.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

moë-moë is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *táboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

It is a custom in the Tonga islands for women to be what they call mothers to children or grown up young persons who are not their own offspring, for the purpose of providing them or seeing that they are provided with all the conveniences of life; and this is often done, although their own natural mothers be living, and residing near the spot,—no doubt for the sake of greater care and attention, or to be afterwards a substitute for the true parent, in the event of her premature death; but the original intention seems not now understood, for it happens sometimes, that a young man having both his natural mother and a wife living, will take it in his head to have an adopted mother, whom he regards the same as his natural parent. If a woman is the foster mother to a person superior to herself, which is mostly the case, she acquires no additional respect from this source in society, though the adopted person be ever

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

562 so great a noble; but if a woman be an attend-
597 ant upon a person of consequence, some respect
554 always accrues to her on that account, because
565 it is a thing publicly known, she forming a part of the retinue of the chief, and accompanying him every where; whereas, the relation in which a woman stands to her adopted son or daughter is more a matter of private agreement and mu-
597 tual understanding. Thus, Mafi Habe, one of
727 the wives of Finow the first, the father of the present king, was Mr. Mariner's foster mother, appointed by the king her husband. To this person Mr. Mariner feels himself greatly indebted for a considerable portion of his intimate knowledge of the language and true customs of Tonga, in contradistinction to words and customs introduced from other islands. She would frequently take the greatest pains in teaching him the correct Tonga pronunciation, and would laugh him out of all little habits and customs, in dress, manners, and conversation, that were not strictly according to the Tonga fashion, or not considered sufficiently polished and becoming an *egi* (noble.) In all respects, and on every occasion, she conducted herself towards him with the greatest maternal affection, modesty, and propriety: she was a woman of great understanding, personal beauty, and amiable manners.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 844 **433. Tama tongia:** Child that can be substituted.

If a child dies the mother may get another child, and so be comforted for the loss of the other. This loss is not irretrievable, though grievous.

539 593 554 851 **434. Tama tuu he fae:** Child standing in the mother.

This is capable of varying application to the character and standing of the child conforming to those of the mother, but its primary reference would seem to be to the dependence of a child's rank on that of his mother. The child of a chiefly woman is chiefly, while the child of a chiefly man by a woman of inferior rank will take the status of the mother.

539 855 **435. Vale ia tama:** Foolish about a child.

The word *tama* is used of a mother's child. A different word is used when speaking of a child as the offspring of a father. This expression refers therefore only to the mother and recognizes the indulgence with which any extravagance should be regarded when it is the outcome of a mother's fondness for her child.

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

597 [The adoption of children is an exceedingly common feature of Tongan social life.]

539 597 **436. Ohiohi pea kovi:** Adopted and bad.

This expression indicates that the affection of the adoptive parents has been lost, or tinctured with resentment, by some unworthy conduct of the child. The adoption has ended badly, or has come to a period where some at least of its friendliness has been replaced by less friendly feelings. This is similar to *Pelepele pea mele*, No. 439.

539 597 571 **437. Tala kovi kae ohi:** Speaking an ill thing but (then) adopting.

This is to refuse a request, perhaps with some anger, but afterwards to relent and grant what was asked. The idea seems to be that after the first churlishness one acts with as much kindness as though he were adopting into his own family the person to whom he had at first refused, but was now granting, the desired boon.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 571 829 **438. Faka-pelea a vale:** Making a pet of fool, with the obvious inference of the uselessness of such kindness.

439. Pelepele pea mele: Petted and coming to grief.

539 593 855 Should a favorite child, or any other who is petted, presume on the preference shown him and do wrong he will be punished. His petting will become a spoiling, not in the sense in which we use the word spoil, of a favorite; but the rank of favorite will be spoiled. It has a special reference also to wrong-doing by a chief's wife.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

592 The variation in the numerical composition of the
162 Pangai households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Number of households	3	3	2	4	9	5	1	6	5	4	1	1

Households with a numerical membership of four to ten persons account for seventy-seven per cent. of the total number of households.

ADOPTION

597 There are two types of adoption practised in Pangai. The first is a permanent adoption *(ohia)*. It involves a complete change of family and household. The child is bespoken generally before or immediately after birth. The adopting parents provide food for the pregnant mother and
[553] for the infant during the nursing-period. They also name
[862] the child, taking possession of it after weaning is completed. At this time the break is made with the blood-parents and the child is thereafter known as the child of the adopting
[867] parents. As it grows up it will learn kinship terms and
[601] terms of respect for the relatives of its adopted parents, not for those of its own blood-parents. It will also expect to
[428] inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents.

The other type of adoption is an impermanent feeding-relationship *(tauhi)*. Relatives ask for a child or parents ask relatives to take a child if the relatives are lonely or elderly or if the parents find that they have more mouths in the household than there is food to go round. The relatives feed and care for the child, but the child may return to its parents any time it is convenient or circumstances so change
[603] that this return is desirable. Very often grandparents take
[428] charge of a grandchild in this way, leaving property to the grandchild when they die.

The feeding-relationship is the more common of the two types of adoption. Of twenty-five cases of adoption known to informants among the village population of 268 persons, only two were of the permanent type, the remainder being of the feeding-type. It is obvious from this that complete

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

adoption is relatively rare in the village.[18] This may be due to two factors. First, married but barren women are rare in Pangai. Of all the married women in the village, informants knew of but two who were definitely barren and could have no children of their own. These were the two women who had permanently adopted children. All the other married women had or had had, children of their own. There is therefore little incentive to permanent adoption. This incentive is lessened by the second factor: there are no strong lineage-feelings among the villagers, nor any strong lineage-groupings. None of them had any association with, nor any interest in, the classic lineages of Tonga as listed, for instance, by Gifford.[19] We soon gave up asking informants for lineage-membership when it became evident that they had knowledge of none or merely said they belonged to the lineage of their father, that is, adding their father's name to the generic term for lineage *(ha'a)*. For some Polynesian groups the continuation in the next generation of a lineage- or descent-group is a matter which is carefully planned and bolstered with both blood and adopted children. The Tongan villager seems almost indifferent to this matter. He may be interested in the survival of his own personality through the continued existence of his own blood-children after his death. This is also a not uncommon feeling among white people. But as for the continued existence of a family-line which has value in and for itself, the villager faiis to make any motion of response. The situation would be different, of course, for the Tongan noble, who is proud of his membership in one of the great named Tongan descent-groups.

[18] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 26) writes that "adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga." He adds that it "may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality." Our data from Pangai obviously suggest that these generalizations of Gifford's do not hold for all Tongan culture.

[19] The statement of Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 30) that "some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live," hardly applies to the Pangai commoners, none of whom knew their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

between the High Commissioner and the king or any of the native chiefs. Then Mr Baker tried to retrieve his lost ground, and asked what he had done to forfeit the confidence of the High Commissioner, receiving his answer in the form of a catalogue of his more notorious breaches of faith.

War was declared, and Mr Baker's only resource was to cut off stragglers and impede the baggage-train of the enemy. He would not, he said, interfere in any way, but he ought to mention that the king was much annoyed at the employment of Mr Moss as interpreter, and had instructed him to write a complaint to the Vice-Consul. It subsequently appeared that the ingenuous Premier had invented this difficulty in order to hamper the High Commissioner in the choice of an interpreter; for besides Mr Moss, there was no one well versed in the Tongan language who was not either a creature of the Premier or a *persona ingrata* to the king. After waiting some days for the letter of complaint, Sir John sent an apology to the king by the hands of the Vice-Consul and Mr Moss himself. They found him sitting on the verandah of his house in the best possible humour. He denied ever having complained about Mr Moss, for whom, he said, he had the most friendly regard, emphasising this by pinching him and laughing heartily. Indeed from a native point of view King George would regard Moss as his grandson, for he had adopted his father under the name of Tubou Haapai.

The same afternoon the High Commissioner with his staff waited on the king by appointment. To their great surprise they found him looking very ill and abstracted,

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Nukuleka

592 D. 1 household that contains A plus wife's children who were
594 born in her previous marriage and husband's father's second
596 wife with her son.

597 There are only four adopted children. In one case a chid was adopted because the foster parents who had an only child wanted more. In another case a girl was adopted by her mother's sister because her own children have already grown up. Two other little children whose parents had been divorced were taken over by their grandparents.

Fission of the Household

592 Since most of the households are based on a nuclear family, the
591 development of a household seems to be a kind of cycle. After children grow up, they depart from their parents' household to form their own.
[128] Table 2 shows the correlation between the mother's age and the number of children living with their parents. Adopted children are included in number.

TABLE 2 — MOTHER'S AGE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN STAYING WITH THEIR PARENTS

Mother's Age	No. of Children										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16 - 20		1	1								
21 - 25	2	1	3	2							
26 - 30		2	1	1	1	2					
31 - 35					1		1	1			
36 - 40	1	1		1			1	2	1		1
41 - 45			2			1					
46 - 50			1								
51 - 55			1								
56 - 60		1		1							

When the wife's age is about from thirty six to forty years old, the number of children reaches the maximum. Then the fact that grown-up sons and daughters start separating from their home, reduces the size of the nuclear family in question. We shall examine here six examples in which we see some of the actual processes in forming new households.

14 The first son of No. 5 (thirty years old in 1962):

In 1946 he received from the Government *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres and *api kolo* both of which had been vacant. He built a house by himself in this *api kolo* and has lived there since 1950. He parted from his parents before his marriage.

10 The third son of No. 5 (twenty seven years old in 1962):

Having no *api tukuhau*, he worked on the land of his father's mother's sister's son (22). He asked the Government to allot him the *api tukuhau* of his mother's deceased brother. In 1957 his first son was born, and in the next year he built a house in a vacant *api kolo* which has not yet been recognised as his own.

361 621 At the time of the census of 1956, however, there were 147 households, and Motulahi was then one of only three villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand. This growth is remarkable, notwithstanding the overall growth of Tonga's population during the same period and the general movement to Tongatapu, for these are but a fraction of the rate of increase in Motulahi.

622 621 The growth of Motulahi's population can be accounted for in large part by reference to the policies and practices of Sione Fatu, who was Haveatungua from 1916 to 1962. Sione Fatu succeeded his father at about the age of sixteen. His three younger brothers were adopted by his [597] [484] father's sister and lived with her in Vava'u and Nuku'alofa, but Sione Fatu was sent abroad to be educated at a grammar [605] school in Australia. During that period and for some years after that he was represented in Motulahi by Finau, who was the son of one of his father's sisters. (It was Finau who gave Pulotu permission to settle in Motulahi in 1919). It is not clear for how long Finau was in charge of Motulahi nor the nature and extent of his authority. Some informants speak more of the power of the petty chief Paluvalevale. It is said that Paluvalevale gave some people permission to farm on his land until they were granted land of their own, whereas Finau acted only as an agent for the noble.

While it was not until the early 1940s that Sione

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592
621 Associated with this diversity was a wide range of variation in household size. Household membership ranged from one to twenty-six persons, with no clearly modal pattern (see Figure 1). On the contrary, while more than 80 percent of the households had fewer than twelve persons, two-thirds had between five and eleven members. Again, no pattern seemed to emerge from the data except for a broad correlation between the average number of persons per household and the number of family groups in the household.

Despite the fact that almost half the households had attached individuals, a structural explanation for this eluded me. All but a few of them were closely related to the head male or head female in the household, either as parents, grandchildren, siblings, or the children of siblings, but there was no obvious pattern to these relationships (see Table 12). Some attached individuals were long-time residents of the household, others just
[597] short-term visitors. However, except for those grand-
[603] children adopted by their grandparents in the informal fostering relationship known as pusi'aki (see Morton 1977) and who are regarded as members of their grandparents' family group, there is no significant difference between the dependent status of a dependent family group and those who are merely attached individuals. The only point that

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

meal might be locally-caught fish or shellfish or canned fish (imported), canned meat (usually corned beef), frozen mutton (imported from New Zealand), or some pork or chicken left over from a feast (for Tongans do not slaughter their livestock to provide mere daily fare). On more remote islands, people have to rely mainly on fresh fish, which they catch themselves. On Tongatapu, however, most kiki is purchased, and a little kiki goes a long way. A string of ten small fish, weighing about three pounds in all, costs 50 cents; two pounds of cartilaginous breast of mutton costs about 36 cents (these are 1969-70 prices). Each of these amounts is sufficient for kiki for a household of six or seven people. Other everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, hardtack biscuits, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and sweetened and dried condensed milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have labor available to produce, prepare, and make use of these products, hence the need for 'human capital'. This requirement is particularly evident in the composition of one of the households in Motulahi, where an elderly couple and their fourteen-year-old granddaughter comprised the household. I was told that the girl had been adopted by them "ke tauhi kinaua--to

592 take care of (tauhi) them (the old couple)".
511
597 Besides expenditures for everyday material needs, a household must have the cash for periodic outlays to pay
592 members' expenses such as income taxes, the annual poll
511 tax on every male over the age of fifteen, church contri-
434 butions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and
[454] fabric, households utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays that are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly
[655] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts to make copra,
[432] or else sell the undried coconuts directly to the Tonga
[462] Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale
[245] to tourists (especially the tourists who flood in on the periodic one-day stopovers of cruise ships that visit
[245] Tonga). There is noticably more copra-making activity and also a particularly well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms, and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand. What is left is doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.
592 Finally, a household must have the means for its
511
476
621

63: Urbanowicz F-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

1850:245). Archival research in Australia revealed an intriguing census figure for the main island of Tongatapu for the year 1824: 34,800 Tongans (Beveridge 1824). Unfortunately, the good Captain had less the motivations of a preliminary census taker and more the motives of businessman *cum* sea captain trying to convince the Wesleyan Mission (with whom he had contacts and to whom the letter was written) of the tremendous "sales market" for material goods and nineteenth century Christianity in the archipelago.[1]

Aboriginal Adoption

Tongans had at least five distinct terms involving transactions between kinsmen which could be glossed under the one rubric "adoption" (and which have been glossed thusly in the past); these were *tauhi, ngaahi, fakahingoa, pusiaki,* and *ohi.* The recent research suggests, however, that *ohi* is the only term that should be termed "adoption" in aboriginal Tonga. Every time an *ohi* transaction took place there was a distinct and permanent change in (1) the rank and (2) the residence of the adopted individual. These permanent changes did not take place when the first four transactions occurred.

Rank and residence pattern are the two criteria by which adoption must be gauged in aboriginal Tonga. When a child was involved in an *ohi* transaction, that is, an adoption involving the permanent substitution of full rights of parenthood from biological parents to other individuals as parents, the adoptee had a permanent change in his (or her) rank relative to all kinsmen; the adoptee also made a permanent move into the residential area of the adopting individuals. The adopted child was treated as if he or she were actually a biological child of the adopting parents, and all important genealogical positioning was henceforth determined for the adopted individual from the adopting parents. The change in residence meant that the adopting parents were totally responsible for the welfare and up-bringing of the adopted child. Such a residential change could involve a move from one island group to another island group, or changes in residence from one village to another village (or district) on the same island.

Not-Adoption

Adoption in aboriginal Tonga will be clearer after discussing that which was not adoption. *Tauhi,* or "looking after someone," was not adoption since it merely referred to the process by which one individual looked after the child of another individual. Looking after someone was only a transitory transaction and did not involve any change in the rank of the individual who was thus looked after (although it could obviously imply a residential shift).[2]

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

Ngaahi (or *ngaohi*) and *fakahingoa* referred to two concepts of "name giving" in aboriginal Tonga. Neither of these naming processes, however, was an adoption transaction since naming merely involved one individual giving a name to a child other than his or her own. The child so named would continue to live with his or her own biological parents after the naming and parental responsibility for raising the child would still lie with the child's own biological parents.

Ngaahi did not change the rank of the child named and could not be considered an adoption in aboriginal Tonga, even though the term is currently defined as "to bring up (a child), or to adopt and bring up" (Churchward 1959:385). *Fakahingoa*, on the other hand, if done by a person of higher rank than the child's own biological parents could change the rank of the child so named. Yet this naming process would still not be adoption because the child so named would continue to live with his or her own biological parents and the biological parents would be responsible for the upbringing of the child. Adoption involved more than naming.[3]

The term *pusiaki* stood for "fosterage" in aboriginal Tonga and it involved a child leaving the residence of his or her biological parents and being raised by foster parents, but the child would still have his or her rank in life determined by the biological parents. A fosterage transaction would require the foster parents to give the child a name and be responsible for the child's welfare, but the rank of the child relative to other kin would not be altered. A fostered child would be looked after by kin. The Wesleyan missionary John Thomas (in the archipelago from 1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859) wrote in his *Journal* in 1835 how he:

> baptized a fine female child belonging to Baula Halaevalu calling it Eliza Ann or Haisuane. The sister of its mother adopted it (J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 1, 1835).

This transferral of parental obligations was not "adoption" as Thomas recorded, but *pusiaki* "fosterage" since 'Haisane's rank in life came from her actual biological parent Paula Halaevalu. (Halaevalu was a son of 'Ulakai, who was a son of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Tuku'aho.) Fosterage did not result in a permanent change in the foster child's rank and was not adoption.[4]

Why Adopt?

Adoption transactions in aboriginal Tonga served to broaden the political base of various individuals. In aboriginal Tonga, kinship and the concomitant adoption transactions were inextricably interwoven into the political structure. Politics in Tonga was the technique of dealing with the activities of the *ha'a*, or corporate land-holding descent groups. The primary purpose of adoption in aboriginal Tonga was to unify the various *ha'a*, and

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

adoption was a transaction between high ranking individuals of the various *ha'a*.

The political aspects of adoption were not lost to the European observers of nineteenth century Tonga. One individual wrote that it was the "fashion" in Tonga

> for mothers to make presents of their children to particular friends, by way of binding the ties of friendship more closely; there is a sound policy in this, as it unites the great chiefs in different districts together; for Fatua, has Tubou's daughter, and if I mistake not, Ata has Fatu or Tubou's son (Bays 1831:135).

This description indicates connections between Fatu, a non-titled *'eiki* chief of the *Ha'a Takalaua*, the titled *'eiki Ata* of the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*, and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Aleamotu'a, also known Jiosaia Tupou.[5]

The Wesleyan missionary William Cross (in the archipelago from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835) wrote how a six year old boy, natural son of a *matapule* (a titled non-*'eiki* individual) had died in 1830. Cross wrote how the child "had become a great personage, being the adopted son of Fatu, the chief of Mua" (W. Cross *Journal* entry of October 4, 1830). This description is probably one of *ohi* since Fatu of Mu'a did have sufficient prestige and personal rank to make a child a "great personage" by means of adoption. It could, perhaps, be interpreted as being an instance of *pusiaki* but it is doubtful, since the child would have had the rank of it's own *matapule* father. Instead, the child's prestige and rank was due to his adoption by Fatu of Mu'a.

In aboriginal Tonga, when the population of the archipelago was considerably less than it is today, adoption transactions (along with arranged marriages) were a key part to the overall maintenance of the archipelago by the Tongan chiefs. These aspects of the political purposes of adoption were merely hinted at by Sahlins when he wrote of realignments between "corporate descent groups" which resulted from adoption (1958: pp. 157-158). Likewise, Goldman has barely pointed out the political ramifications of adoptees being introduced into the line of succession (1970:435).

Part of the problem of interpreting aboriginal adoption patterns (and numerous other aspects of aboriginal Tongan activities) are the erroneous projections into the past based solely on twentieth century field work without incorporating nineteenth century eyewitness accounts. Thus Gifford nearly described the exact aspect of Tongan transactions between kinspeople for adoption and not-adoption situations when he wrote that "adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality" (1929:26). Unfortunately, however, Gifford was "collapsing" everything from *tauhi* to *ngaahi* to *fakahingoa* to *pusiaki* and *ohi* under the one rubric "adoption." Likewise, the Beagleholes

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

were in error when they glossed *tauhi* together with *ohi* as "adoption" (1941:70).[6]

It must be pointed out that in aboriginal Tonga, non-*ohi* transactions could be used for political maneuverings; this would be in an instance of *fakahingoa*, or when an individual of high rank gave a name to a lower ranking individual. The French navigator Dumont D'Urville reported how he met an individual named Fae in 1828 who

> brought his two little boys to us: the younger had been adopted by the dowager queen which conferred important privileges upon him. It was thought that his ambitious father wanted to take advantage of this circumstance to secure for him one day the sovereignty of the island [of Tongatapu]. In order to accustom the other chief[s] little by little to looking upon this child as their superior, this artful nobleman never approached him without submitting to the humiliating ceremony of moe-moe, that is without prostrating himself before him and pretending to place his head on the child's feet, a ritual imposed on every Tongan chief in the presence of the Toui-Tonga (MS. p. 3).

The "dowager queen" in this account was the *Tamaha* Amelia, an extremely important and high-ranking individual in aboriginal Tonga. The description is not one of adoption, however, but of *fakahingoa*, or naming, since the younger child did not live with the *Tamaha*. Archival and genealogical research further revealed that the individual Fae was not the biological father of the young child named by the Tamaha, but related to the child through his own sister who was married to the boy's father: the aforementioned Fatu of Mu'a.[7]

The *Tamaha* gave the son of Fatu the name of Tungi, after her own great grandfather Tungimana'ia. Tungi's rank was changed as a result of this naming transaction, and he did go on in life to play an extremely important part in Tongan politics, but he continued to live with Fatu in the area on Tongatapu known as the Mu'a. The Wesleyan missionary Stephen Rabone (in the archipelago from 1836 to 1850) wrote at one point in his *Journal* that "Tugi is the son & successor of Fatu from Mua the east part of Tonga" (*Journal* entry of January 8, 1845), and the Wesleyan missionary Thomas West (in the archipelago from 1846 to 1855) wrote on the occasion of Tungi's marriage to 'Anaseini Tupouveihola (his fourth wife):

> A fleet of eight large canoes has arrived from Vavau and Seven more are to come. These together with a large fleet of the same sort from Haabai are on their way to Tonga[tapu] to be present at the marriage of the King's adopted daughter to Tugi the chief at Mua who embraced Christianity two years ago (T. West *Journal* entry of July 5, 1853).

Adoption in aboriginal Tonga involved more than a mere naming process (which could or could not increase the rank of the child so named,

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

597 553 557 [565] [581] depending on the rank of the namer). An adoption had to involve changes in rank and changes in residence. *Ohu* transactions, or adoptions in aboriginal Tonga, were transactions between high-ranking individuals. Adoptions and arranged marriages between high ranking individuals played an important part in maintaining the overall stability of the island group.

Titles

597 554 428 [178] What is important to stress for aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to post-1875 Tonga, is the very important fact that *ohu* transactions which involved titles lasted only for one generation. In aboriginal Tonga, when an adoption took place which involved the adoptee receiving a *hingoa*, or "title," from the adopting parent, that adopted-titled-individual could not transmit that title to his own biological (or adopted) child. The title which the adopted child eventually received would have to revert back to someone in the original line of descent in the *ha'a*.[9]

554 613 In aboriginal Tonga, titles were given to important individuals (male and female) of the corporate land holding descent group, or *ha'a*. The title was given as a specific form of recognition for the individual. When the individual Ngata received his title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, he gave his son Leilua the title *Ve'ehala*.[10] Leilua was thus the first *Ve'ehala*, and *Ve'ehala* is roughly [423] [425] translated as the "wrong footed man." With the title *Ve'ehala* there is associated a specific area of land. It is the title of a man which was transmitted to another individual after a title-holder died (or when a title-holder was unable to perform the duties associated with the title).

554 428 [613] When a man could no longer hold a title, the title would not necessarily go to the oldest natural (or adopted) son of the man; the title could be given to a brother of the deceased (or incapacitated) title-holder, the title could be given to a child of the sister of the deceased title-holder, or the title could be given to an adopted son of the deceased title-holder. In aboriginal Tonga, succession to titles depended on several factors, and the decision to pass the title on was a joint decision of the *ha'a*. A prospective title-holder had to be of proper age, had to have the ability to handle the affairs associated with the title, had to have the support of the people to aid him, and had to have the proper rank to accompany the title.

571 565 554 [643] The Wesleyan missionary John Thomas wrote in his journal on one occasion that "there is a union amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each other before they determine anything" (J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 11, 1826). The titled individual known as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* had to be supported by the various *ha'a* of Tonga to received the title. Thomas recorded how one individual had given up the "lotoo" or Wesleyan religion

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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571 565 643 is probable that should this take place a war would be the immediate consequence [Stress added] (W. Cross *Letter* of July 1, 1830).

The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* was not deposed and a war did not take place at that time. The examples indicate, however, the flexible aspect of the Tongan concept of "chieftanship" in the nineteenth century, and also the aspect of consensus needed for leadership.

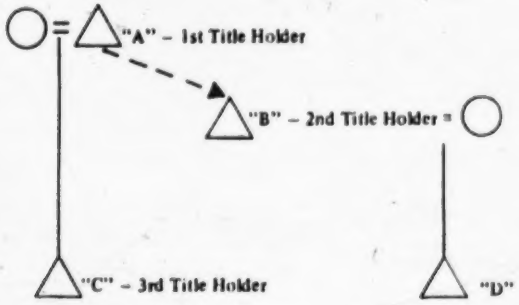
The Constitution

642 571 554 178 [177] The Tongan Constitution of 1875 was promulgated by King George Tupou I with the aid of European advice. What the Constitution did was to remove the inherent flexibility concerning the inheritance of titles. Where before the Constitution an individual received a title because of the consensus of the people, after 1875 a person received a title because of the law.[10,11]

642 597 428 554 178 In pre-1875 Tonga, if an adopted son of a titled individual succeeded to the title of his adopting parent, the new titled individual would not transmit that title to his own son. The new titled son was, in essence, only "holding" the title until a proper heir to the title came of age (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1

ADOPTION TRANSACTION



SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Title Holder "A" adopts individual "B"
Title Holder "A" dies – individual "B" selected as new Title Holder in lieu of "C"
Title Holder "B" dies – individual "C" selected as new Title Holder – Title has "reverted" to original descendants.

AFTER the Constitution of 1875, when Title Holder "B" died, the title did not go to individual "C" but went (because of the law) to individual "D."

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Although the title would revert to someone in the original line of descent in the *ha'a*, the rank of the adopted son was his own because of the adoption. In pre-1875 Tonga the adopted son would not lose his rank yet his children would not be eligible for the title.

With the Constitution of 1875 strict rules of primogeniture were introduced *in lieu* of the consensus aspect. The King of Tonga was quite explicit about this in a speech he made to the Tongan Parliament in 1875:

> . . . the estate shall go with the title, and the succession shall be from the father to the son for ever. The Law of Succession is stated in the Constitution, and such succession shall be by blood relationship only: from to-day NO ADOPTED CHILDREN SHALL SUCCEED TO THE ESTATE OR TITLE OR TO ANYTHING; only the children of blood relations and by marriage [stress added] (in Hunter 1963:2).

At the time of the promulgation of the Constitution in 1875 there were a few title holders who were in fact adopted sons; with the Constitution in effect these adopted title holder sons PASSED THE TITLES ON TO THEIR OWN BIOLOGICAL SONS when they eventually died or were unable to perform the duties associated with the title. With the Constitution of 1875, the concept of reverting a title to the original line of descent was no longer valid, and adopted sons could no longer be considered potential title holders at all.

Because titles could not revert with the Constitution in effect, when the adopted title holder sons died and when the titles were passed on to their own biological sons, several court cases developed. The original descendants (or potential recipients of a title) claimed the title because of custom, but the law of the Constitution stated otherwise. Tongans eventually came to realize the inequities of the 1875 Constitution, and eventually the Constitution was ammended in 1953. Tongans realized that:

> According to chiefly Tongan customs, when a chief adopted a child to his family, the adopted child was given the title of that family – a mark of recognition equivalent to the modern registration of adoption. It was also a sign of the acceptance of the adoption by the family. THE ADOPTED PERSON HELD THE TITLE UNTIL HIS DEMISE WHEN THE TITLE REVERTED TO THOSE ENTITLED TO IT BY BLOOD RELATIONSHIP [stress added] (Hammett 1961 *in* Hunter 1963:179).

Tongans realized that:

> . . . the Law of Succession contained in the Constitution was contrary to, but nevertheless must take precedence over the chiefly Tongan custom relating to adopted sons who had been appointed to hold a chiefly title and the rights of their descendants to inherit their titles (*ibid.*, p. 180).

As a result of the court cases and the fact that the law of the land did go against the custom of the land, in 1953 the Constitution was amended "to ensure that the law of succession to the titles of nobles should take

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642 597 428 554 178 cognisance of the old and well-known chiefly custom concerning adopted children" (*ibid.*). The Constitutional Ammendment, Act No. 15 of 1953, added the following paragraph to Section 107 of the Constitution:

> Whereas by Tongan Custom PROVISION HAS ALWAYS BEEN MADE THAN AN ADOPTED CHILD MIGHT SUCCEED TO THE ESTATES AND TITLES OF HIS ADOPTIVE FATHER now therefore it is decreed that upon the death of the holder of an estate or title who has inherited such estate or title by virtue of his blood descent from such adopted child the estate and title SHALL REVERT TO THE DESCENDANT BY BLOOD OF THE ORIGINAL HOLDER OF THE ESTATE AND TITLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS CLAUSE . . . [stress added] (Wylie 1967:1:36).

Thus, in the twentieth century, Tongans realized the efficacy of adoption transactions in aboriginal Tonga and have incorporated what was once custom into the laws of the Kingdom for matters concerning high ranking individuals.

Conclusions

121 597 The major purpose of this brief paper has been to present descriptive and interpretive data on aboriginal adoption transactions in Tonga. Although numerous activities involved transactions between kin (*tauhi*, *ngaahi*, *fakahingoa*, *pusiaki*, and *ohi*), the data and interpretation show that there was only one concept in aboriginal Tonga which should be given the gloss "adoption," and that was an *ohi* transaction, a transaction involving permanent change in the rank and residence of the adopted individual. *Ohi* transactions took place between high ranking individuals for political purposes.

121 597 428 178 642 [114] The second purpose of this paper has been to point out that aboriginal Tonga is certainly not twentieth century Tonga. Scarr (1967:4) has written of a "rigidity" in Tongan social structure, springing "in part, from primogeniture," yet it was only with the Constitution of 1875 that strict rules of primogeniture were introduced into Tonga. King George was most emphatic in his 1875 statement to Parliament concerning the strict succession "from father to son for ever" and the new emphasis that "no adopted children" could ever succeed to anything. This is why the Beagleholes were in error in their 1941 work when they dealt with *ohi* transactions and stated that the child so adopted "will also expect to inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents" (1941:70). It would have been true before the constitution, but in the twentieth century it was simply against the law.

597 642 565 428 Although the Tongan Constitution was amended in 1953 for cases relating to high ranking Tongans and *ohi* transactions, for the bulk of the populace the situation remains the same: no adopted child can inherit from

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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his (or her) adopted parents (although the child could certainly inherit from his own biological parents). As recently as 1961 the Chief Justice of Tonga stated:

> no person who is an adopted child and has not been born in wedlock to the person from whom he claims to inherit, is now entitled to inherit under the law of succession in any event. (Hammet *in* Hunter 1963:182).

The Chief Justice also pointed out in the same context:

> From the date the Constitution was granted in 1875 until the present time no adopted child has been entitled to inherit under the law of succession and no provision has been made whereby an adopted child may succeed in the future. (*ibid.*).

The 1953 Amendment to the Tongan Constitution changed the Constitution for the high ranking Tongans, but for the bulk of the populace in the twentieth century inheritance rules are guided not by custom but by law. For the Tongan farmer, inheritance of land (in a land-scarce archipelago) is extremely important; and as A. Maude's most recent work on land in Tonga states it, "only legitimate sons may inherit" land, and "these rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly" (A. Maude 1971:113).

It is clear that twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga. The "Europeanization" of Tonga removed much of the inherent consensus and flexibility from Tongan society, and researchers and Tongans alike must be made aware of this.

NOTES

1. Funding for the research partially presented in this paper was provided, in part, by an NDEA (Title IV) Fellowship and an NIH Traineeship (PHS Grant 5 T01 GM01382-05). Field work was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and information provided by individuals in Tonga, especially those connected with the *Komiti Takifakafonua 'o Tonga*, "Tongan Traditions Committee", is greatly appreciated. Space limitations obviously precludes the listing of all individuals from whom assistance was gratefully received, but see the completed dissertation (1972:v-x). An earlier version of this paper was discussed at a symposium on "Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania" at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 29-April 1, 1972. Numerous people have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, are responsible for what I present.
2. C. Maxwell Churchward has defined *tauhi* as "to tend, look after, take care of" (C. M. Churchward 1959:463). One of the earliest definitions of the term was recorded by the Wesleyan missionary S. Rabone who defined *tauhi* as "a nurse; a

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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597 855 protector" or "to protect, to provide for" (S. Rabone 1845:182; *vide* S. Baker 1897:175).

597 553 114 3. Baker also has *ga'ihi* erroneously defined as "adopt" (1897:2), along with *ohi* properly defined as "adopt" (*ibid.*, p. 2 and p. 15). In his 1845 work, Rabone does not have the term *gaohi* nor any variation on it, but he does have *ohi* as "to adopt" (1845:19). For *fakahingoa* see Baker (1897:50), Churchward (1959:44) and Rabone (1845:59).

597 855 4 Churchward has defined *pusaki* as "to rear (a child or a young animal) away from its mother" and states that one should compare it to *ohi* (1959:424). In the orthography of the nineteenth century, Rabone has *hujiaki* defined as "a pet; anything petted" or "to pet; to feed by hand" (1845:34). Baker's work, based on Rabone, also has the same but adds "foster" as *"ke hujiaki"* (1897:28). Churchward also utilizes *pusaki* in the context of "foster-child" and "foster-parents" (1959:656).

597 557 613 554 365 5. The concept *'eiki* was one of "noble birth" in aboriginal Tonga and the term *'eiki* is not immediately synonymous with the term "chief." A title was given to an individual because of some special aspect of the individual and there were titled *'eiki* as well as titled non-*'eiki*; to finish out the simple 2x2 analysis, there were also non-titled *'eiki* and non-titled non-*'eiki* individuals (the last category being the bulk of the Tongan populace in the past and in the twentieth century). For further particulars see Urbanowicz (1973 and 1973/74).

597 114 6. The only way a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal (or early contacted) culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining to that culture and then make comparisons both internally and externally, comparing documented statements to documented statements and then comparing the "old" information with "new" information gathered by contemporary field work (see Urbanowicz [1972] for a detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research). The manuscript accounts of the missionaries can be suggestive, without providing any real information, as when the Wesleyan missionary James Watkin (in the archipelago from 1831 to 1837) wrote "this people much in the habit of adopting children" (*Journal* entry of April 9, 1834). However, the missionary statements are useful when they can be compared internally and with external, and known, reputable information. Thomas' following statements can be checked: he wrote of a Tongan girl in 1834 that she was "the reputed daughter of Ulakai" (*Journal* entry of March 9, 1834) when she died in 1841 he wrote that "she was the adopted daughter of the late chief Ulakai and the real daughter of the Tui Tonga" (*Journal* entry of July 13, 1841). In Australia, I examined the genealogical information in the E.E.V. Collocott Manuscript collection pertaining to Tonga and compared those genealogies to information recorded in Tonga - particularly the *Koe Tohi Hohoko Eni 'A Kingi Siaosi Tupou II* held by the Tongan Traditions Committee. The name of the girl proved to be Fatafehi and she was a child of the *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga by his third wife Siulolovao.

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557 553 597 609 7. Fatu, whose full name was Fatukimotulalo, was an important and powerful non-titled *'eiki*. He was the son of Mulikiha'amea and that individual's fifth wife, Ikatonga. Fatu is well reported in the literature: one European, non-missionary, who was living in Tonga wrote how he was "patronized by a chief called Fatou, who has adopted me as his son, married me to his daughter, and given me a house to live in and land to cultivate" (J. Read in Orlebar 1833:69); another European observor wrote that Read had become the "adopted son of the most powerful Pagan chief in the island" (Orlebar 1833:48). Dumont D'Urville remarked that "Palou or Fatou and Tahofa [also called Fae] were without doubt the two most powerful chiefs of Tonga, although inferior to many others by birth" (MS. pp. 7-8). Fatu died on January 10, 1842 (J. Thomas
written on the incorporation of Europeans (both male and female) into Tongan society, such as Read, or Vason, who wrote how he was regarded by Mulikiha'amea

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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"with parental affection" (1810:111), or Mariner, who reported that Finau Ulukalala was considered to be his own "father and protector" (1817:I: p.90 and p. 310). A later paper is planned.

8. Adoptions and arranged marriages for political reasons had always existed in the indigenous system and with the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries this did not change. The missionaries knew about the arranged marriages but they could not do anything to stop them (or would not do anything to stop them) for they were too much a part of Tongan life. One missionary, on a visit in 1850 (he had also been in the archipelago from 1822-1823) wrote that such "state unions" were made "merely to promote caste" and that this was a "thing which ought to be destroyed" (W. Lawry *Journal* entry of June 15, 1850), but it was not.
9. Additional research might reveal further forms of aboriginal adoption transactions. Collocott refers to Tungimana'ia as being "fakatakatuu" to a particular *Tu'i Ha'ateiho* (Collocott n.d. p. 258) or *fakatakaua* which is "like or pertaining to a constant companion" (Churchward 1959:102). The record suggests that this may have been a "more intense" form of *ohi* since a son of an adopted son succeeded to a title – that is, the title did not revert as in an *ohi* transaction (compare Gifford [1929:137]). Companionship, group membership, or group enlargement, are all subject to further research and debate in the context of adoption and the *ha'a*.
10. Unfortunately, this important distinction of pre-1875 Tonga and post-1875 is often overlooked in the literature (see, for example, Kaeppler 1971). For specific statements on changes in rank and status acquisition procedures due to the Constitution of 1875 see Urbanowicz (1973/74).
11. The Constitution also resulted in other problems concerning titles: prior to the Constitution no man could hold more than one title, since the title holder was responsible to (and for) a particular group of people; now, as a result of the Constitution, there are men holding two titles. Most notable of these is the Honorable *Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili*. (The double title of *Ulukalala-Ata* is currently vacant). What the holding of double titles means is that a further gulf has been injected into the relationship between titled and non-titled individuals. A person with two titles has to divide his time (and obligations) between two different groups of people. This would not have been so prior to 1875.

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Wives have lesser rank than their husbands, but this is a ranking within the nuclear family not bearing on kāinga ranking. Daughters are next highest in rank and are usually given preferential treatment. If a family has meat at a meal, daughters are allowed to choose their portion before sons, and the latter may have to go without. Girls are given comfortable beds but boys are allowed to sleep where they can find a place, which is often outside the sleeping house because of social restrictions between brothers and sisters. Girls are generally clothed more fully and with better garments than boys. Daughters are kept under a watchful eye and made to stay near the family 'api, particularly at night when they are only allowed out in the company of a chaperone.

Girls are socially superior to their brothers and ideally brothers are obligated to be guardians of their sisters' social and physical well-being. Men should give first fruits to sisters and assist sisters and their husbands in gardening, building, or other tasks.

Parents sometimes treat one child as a favorite (pele) and give that child better food and care than is proffered to others. Usually this child is the youngest or oldest of a sibling group and is usually a female. Sometimes an adopted child will become a favorite as it is felt that special attention should be given adopted children. If a male child is chosen as the pele, he is often treated as a female; he is kept close to the 'api, taught feminine tasks, and even in some cases is dressed and groomed as a female. Tongans consider this sort of role reversal very comical and persons outside the household willingly treat the child as required by the role alteration. I never heard of anyone

428 agnatic ties to the most recent titleholder should succeed to the title.
424 A female may be invested with the rights of a title through inheritance
[562] if there are no male heirs, but she cannot exercise those rights. She can, however, pass the title on to her male descendant.

428 The inheritance of land is codified in law and land cannot be
423 willed; rather, the heir is determined by law (Maude 1971: 112). However, exceptions to these laws are common as land is often inherited in a manner that is jurally, but not legally, binding. This is possible because a great many allotments are not registered, but held by indi-
[597] viduals at the discretion of nobles. Under these circumstances even children of an adoptive status, not recognized by law, can and do inherit land. Alaric Maude (1971: 112-113) discribes the legal aspects of land inheritance. Here I would like to present the following as an ideal case of property inheritance from an untitled deceased.

After the death of a married man with children of both sexes 'all property above the ground' koloa 'ihe funga kelikeli passes into the control of his wife. She may dispose of this property as she wishes. She also inherits the rights to use the land as long as she wishes or until her death. After the death of the deceased's wife, his eldest son will usually inherit the rights of usufruct to his father's land; this is in accord with the law. Although the law does not recognize wills for land inheritance, dying men may name who they want to inherit their land. Even though such a practice is not in accord with written law, it is usually recognized and respected within the community for
428 land that is not registered. Also unrecognized by law is the custom of
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CHAPTER IV

ADOPTION AND KINSHIP

128 In this chapter I will present and discuss adoption of children as
597 one kind of exchange event and in Chapter VI, I will compare the pattern of reciprocity existing in adoption transactions with the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Also in this chapter, I want to examine the motivations and beliefs pertaining to adoption as they further illustrate and clarify Tongan kin relationships and family organizations.

597 Nearly all adult Tongans have had some experience with adoption, either as adopters, adoptees, or by having more distant adopted kinsmen. The Tongan government sanctions only a few of these adoptions. Few applications for adoption are made to the courts because the circumstances
597 692 [197] of Tongan adoption do not fit the European model of adoption applied in the courts. In 1970 eighteen applications for adoption were made in the courts, sixteen of these were granted, and two were refused (Roberts 1970: 3). Of the 125 cases of adoption recorded during research only one was a legally recognized adoption.

597 The village of Puke, being small, had only a few cases of adoption
101 so a larger village, Vaini, was used for this part of the study. Vaini is a village of about one hundred households located on Tongatapu (See
597 124 [125] Map 2).[A] All households in Vaini were sampled by using the household head or the household head's wife as an informant. Each informant was asked

[A] [See p. 25--Analyst]

597 124 [125] to provide information on the adoption of any of their children, the adoption of any of their siblings, and the adoption of any of their spouse's siblings. In this way a sample of eighty-one adoptions was obtained. It is this sample that provides the statistical data presented in this chapter.

855 In contrast to Western practices of child rearing, the rights and duties of jural parenthood are dispersed and extended to a large number of kinsmen, neighbors, and friends. For instance, a child is seldom called home at mealtime if he is working or playing elsewhere; parents assume that he will be fed wherever he happens to be within the village. It is also expected tha neighbors will generally look after a child whenever he is near their home. Parents frequently leave children of five or older at home while they go to their garden or perform some other task and assume their children will be looked after without any explicit arrangements having been made. Reciprocally, the persons assuming the duties of parenthood claim some of the rights of parents. For instance, adults can expect neighbors' children to run errands and execute minor tasks for them, and they may use corporal punishment to insure that orders are obeyed.

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855 When explicit arrangements are made for an adult to care for another's child, the term tokanga'i is used to describe the arrangement. This type of transfer of parental role is only for short periods of time, from a few hours to a few days, and is nearly identical to the Western practice of babysitting.

553 602 554 A partial, but permanent, transfer of certain aspects of the parental role is the practice of fakahingoa 'to name'. The namer is usually a high ranking kinsman of either the father or mother. Aoyagi (1966: 165-167) discusses this custom and the relationships involved. Quite often the namer is the mehekitanga 'FZ', who is the highest ranking kinsman in the first ascending generation of the names. Occasionally, 553 554 unrelated persons of high status within the community may be asked to give a name such as persons with important church positions. The namer is partially responsible for the moral welfare and training of the names, and may be called upon to assist the child either through counseling or by material assistance.

429 The Tongan term that I gloss as fosterage is tauhi meaning 'to protect', or as a noun, 'guardian'. Under the arrangememts of fosterage there is no alteration of the child's kinship status or inheritance rights. The jural parents retain the right to make any important decisions affecting the child's training and future. As with adopters, guardians are usually kinsmen, but they may be compensated materially by the jural parents for their role as protectors and providers. Examples of circumstances leading to fosterage are periods of serious illness of a parent, divorce or separation of jural parents, parents' traveling and working abroad, or education opportunities available to children by a change of residence.

597 I would like to define adoption as any putatively permanent transfer of child custody involving a transfer of primary rights of jural parenthood. Following this definition there are two types of adoption

597 presently practiced in Tonga: ohi, the adoption of non-kinsmen, and pusiaki, the adoption of kinsmen. Pusiaki literally means 'to rear a child away from its mother' (Churchward 1959: 424). Ohi also has a broader meaning and is used to describe human nurturance of young animals. For the adoptee ohi represents a more complete break with his biological parents simply because his adopted parents are not kinsmen and, consequently, less likely to have frequent contact with the biological parents.

A conservative estimate of the proportion of pusiaki to ohi would be about forty to one. In Malapo where an exhaustive sample of households revealed eighty-one cases of adoption, two were ohi type adoptions. (128) The remainder of this chapter will deal primarily with pusiaki, and the term "adoption" will be used as the gloss of pusiaki.

Beliefs and Motives

597 591 592 An analysis of adoption circumstances reveals two basic patterns, each identifiable with a phase in the household cycle. An initial phase is characterized by a man and wife residing with a kinsman of either and being dependent upon that person for housing and perhaps land and food. This phase frequently ends with the birth of the first child and the subsequent establishment of an independent household.

592 597 The next period is the young household phase characterized by the bearing and rearing of children and the maintenance of an independent household. A third phase, the mature family, is marked by the cessation of child bearing, maturing children, and frequently the presence of depen-

592 dent families or individuals. The last phase is the declining house-
597 hold with no or few children present and an increasing reliance upon other households for subsistence needs.

By using adopting mothers' ages as a rough indicator, it was found that adoptions tend to cluster at two points in the household phase, and the adopting mothers averaged about thirty-six years of age. The second cluster occurs in the declining household phase with adopting mothers having an average age of about sixty-four (See Table 9). A A

597 The motivations for young family adoptions are closely connected
591 with achieving adult status. For Tongans, marriage is not a final step
885 in attaining adult status. Many young couples begin married life by
[581] taking up residence with consanguines of either the bride or the groom. During the next few months or years the couple remains dependent on the household head and his wife. How long this period of dependency lasts
[602] depends on several factors including the husband's success at finding land or a wage-labor job, how friendly the relationship with the host family remains, and the grouwth of the new family. This period often ends at about the time the first child is born, by the couple establish-
597 ing a separate household. Although recognition as an adult does not
885 come abruptly, bearing a child and assuming the responsibility for its
851 care is an important step. Because of the importance of having and caring for children in attaining adult status, young couples usually become prospective adopters if they are unable to have children of their own.

A A [See p. 82--Analyst]

73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9
Puke

TABLE 9

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Age Distribution of Biological Mothers and Adopting Mothers*

Age in Years	Percent Biological Mothers	Percent Adopting Mothers
16-20	11	5
21-25	23	7
26-30	26	8
31-35	18	14
36-40	12	16
41-45	5	11
46-50	5	9
51-55	0	11
56-60	0	4
61-65	0	11
66-70	0	3
71-75	0	1
Total	100	100

* Figures based on eighty-one adoptions.

597 [589] Nurturance is a valued role, particularly for women. In about 5 percent of the adoptions, single women were the adopters, but in no 854 case did a single man adopt.[1] Tongan infants are given a great deal of care during their first year or two. They are always picked up and held whenever they cry or show signs of discontent; they are always held when going to sleep and only placed in bed after they are asleep. Infants are bundled in wool and flannel clothing to protect them against non-existent cold weather, but the extra clothing demonstrates the competence of the mother and gives psychological security for her.

593 Tongans also believe a childless couple is likely to quarrel and separate because "they have no reason to remain together". An obvious [597] correlate of this belief is that a childless couple experiencing difficulties can solve their problems by adopting a child.

597 Children may also be adopted to replace the loss of a biological child or to provide a playmate for an only child. Parents who have had only boys or only girls often desire a child of the opposite sex and will adopt one. However, there seems to be no strong preference in sex of children; both sexes are adopted with about equal frequency.

Economic motivations are not often given as reasons for adopting, but children are obligated to assist aged parents materially. In a few cases children are adopted to provide heirs, but legally an adopted child cannot inherit land unless the adoption is recognized by the courts and, as demonstrated earlier, legal adoptions are relatively few.

592 597 Motivations are somewhat different in declining household adoptions. In declining households the children are grown and usually have

[For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

592 moved out of the household. At this stage adults feel the need for
597 companionship, and may also need assistance in performing household chores and subsistence tasks.

597 The reasons why parents allow their children to be adopted are both the negative factors of hardship and a willingness to assist childless
(848) couples. Illegitimate children are frequently adopted by someone in the mother's family, not because of any great stigma but to give the child a socially acceptable position and to free the mother to find a
(837) husband. Children thought to have been conceived in adulterous relationships are often unwanted by the mother's husband, and he might in-
(586) sist that the child be adopted out. Men who lose their wives through
(768) death or divorce and are left with small children will usually allow them to be adopted or even actively seek an adopter. Parents experiencing economic hardship, severe illness, or marital instability may
(602) actively encourage the adoption of their children. It is believed that families with several children should be willing to give one to a childless kinsman and in some cases this seems to be the only motivation.

Gratitude for services rendered will sometimes result in adoptions. A women who cures a sick child may be given the child as a gesture of parental appreciation. Another example is provided by a man I shall call Finau who was visiting an outer island. During his stay there Finau had an argument with the kinsman he was visiting and was asked to leave. A non-kinsman befriended him and looked after Finau until passage could be arranged back to Tongatapu, the main island. Out of gratitude Finau asked his benefactor what he could do in return. The

597 friend answered that he wanted Finau to adopt his son and take him back to the main island where the boy could receive a better education.

The Adoption Transaction

No numerical data were collected on the frequency of adoption requests, but it seems that requests are denied far more frequently than honored. Most requests are made within a short time prior to parturition, or in the first few weeks following the child's birth. It is felt that it is best to make the request before the mother and child have become emotionally attached. Although it is considered generous both [597] [571] to adopt a child and to give up a child for adoption, the denial of adoption requests does not usually upset relationships between parents and prospective adopters.

Although both husbands and wives must be agreeable to allowing the adoption of their children, women seem to take more interest and tend to play a dominant role in the adoption process. In considering only 599 602 those cases in which only one spouse was related to the adoptee, 68 percent of the adoptees were related to the adopting mother. This also indicates that 68 percent of the adoptions were arranged by the adopting mothers because kinsmen are always the principals in the adoption transactions. That is, a man would not try to negotiate an adoption with his wife's kinsmen, nor would a woman attempt to arrange the adoption with her husband's kinsmen. This procedure for arranging adoptions provides a measure of protection for the maintenance of good relationships between kinsmen. A denial of a request usually comes from which-

597 [602] ever of the biological parents is not related to the prospective adopter, while the parent that is related can claim he was ready to honor the request if only his spouse had been agreeable.

If the prospective adopter is able to find parents willing to allow him to adopt this child, the custody of the child is transferred without any ceremony. Although there is no exchange of goods at the time 597 571 of the transaction, adoptions are thought to bring the two sets of parents closer together, and future reciprocities may increase. After the adoption transaction the adopting parents' obligations to the biological parents increase. However, any mention of money or goods owed is 597 socially unacceptable and any person doing so would be censored. In one case the biological parents of the adopted child approached the adopter and requested that he return the child. The adopter agreed to return the child if the parents would compensate him for having cared [626] for the child. The parents, unable to pay the amount asked, made the incident known publicly, and the adopter became a subject of gossip for trying to "sell a child".

A rather typical example of the adoption process is provided by a man I shall call Samisoni. Samisoni did not marry until late in his twenties, and after three years of marriage his wife had not had a [612] child. Samisoni wanted a child from his own kāinga so he went to his younger brother, Sione, who had one child of two and an infant of less than a month, and requested the younger child. Sione was agreeable to the adoption but the child's mother said she did not have enough children, and was unwilling to give one up. The request was denied. About

597 a year later Sione's wife had another child, and Samisoni renewed his request which again was denied by Sione's wife. Samisoni had no other close kinsman with young children so he gave up trying to adopt from his own kinsmen and allowed his wife to arrange the adoption of one of her sister's children.

Most adoption transactions are initiated by the prospective adopter, but as suggested previously, in some circumstances the biological parents will actively seek an adopter. One case of this involved a man (768) whose wife had died leaving him with several young children. The man found another woman willing to marry him but she did not want his children; therefore, he made arrangements for his brother to adopt the children. In general, it is far easier to find someone willing to adopt children than it is to find parents willing to give them up.

Adoption and Kinship Reciprocity

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With the large majority of adoption transactions occurring between close kinsmen, it is evident that adoption is closely related to the sentiment of kinship. Table 10 illustrates the relationships between adopters and adoptees.[A] In Chapter VI the pattern of kinship reciprocity reflected in the sample of adoption transactions will be presented and compared with the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Here I do want to point out that 69 percent of adoptees were obtained from the adopting mother's kinsmen rather than from the adopting father's kinsmen. This pattern probably reflects the greater interest of women in the adoption process and in its outcome. Women enter into adoption

[A] [See p. 68--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

TABLE 10

Relationship of Adopting Mother to Adoptee Before Adoption*

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Relationship	Percent Adoptees
ZC	18
BC	22
HZC	9
HBC	6
SC	18
DC	16
BSC	1
BDC	4
MZSC	1
MZDC	3
HFBSC	1
HMMBSC	1
Total	100

* Figures based on eighty-one adoptions.

transactions as initiators, negotiators, and beneficiares far more frequently than men.

Goodenough (Carroll 1970: 404-405) has suggested that in Polynesia the transfer of child custody may, in fact, be an exercise of parenthood rights beyond those of the biological parents. In Tonga grandparents and classificatory parents have some rights of jural parenthood, but primary rights are held by the biological parents. Secondary rights of parenthood are succeeded to in cases where a child is abandoned or in cases where both parents have died. In situations such as this, which are relatively rare, grandparents or classificatory parents would probably assume the responsibility of parenthood.

Tongan adoptions constitute a transfer of jural parenthood and in that sense are true adoptions. The principals in an adoption transaction are the adopter and the adoptee's biological parents, and in each case the biological parents both must agree to relinquish their rights of jural parenthood before an agreement is reached.

It is the kin relationship between adopters and biological parents that determines the nature of the adoption process, not the existence of overriding rights to jural parenthood.

Circumstances of Adoption

An adoptee in Tongan society does not break with kin ties established through his genetrix and genitor; rather, he assumes a second set of relationships. If a child is adopted by a classificatory parent there is little shift in terminology with respect to the kinsmen of that

597 602 608 adopter. However, the other adopter would not have been related prior to the adoption, so all of that parent's kinsmen become kinsmen of the adoptee. In effect, the number of persons related ot the adoptee is increased by about one-third, and the intensity of some prior relationships is altered-classificatory siblings become "real" siblings and classificatory parents become "real" parents.

597 602 561 Adoption could also alter the adoptee's kinship rank. For instance, if a female was the youngest D of the youngest S and was adopted by her F's eldest Z, her position is almost completely altered and she becomes the highest ranking person of her generation with regard to her F's Kinsmen.

597 593 The adoptee's relationship to his biological parents varies from those cases where he rarely sees them to those cases where he is in almost daily contact with them. The biological parents may bring gifts (574) (578) of food and other items to their child and he may occasionally visit them for a few days; however, the more frequent and intense the contact between adoptee and biological parents, the more likely it is that friction will occur between the adopting parents and the biological parents.[2]

597 Adoptees frequently become the pele 'favorite' of their adopted parents and some Tongans think of adopted children as spoiled children. An adoptee is in a position to get special treatment from his adopted parents because he is more likely to be an only child, the only child of one sex, or the youngest or oldest child. Another possible reason for the special treatment of adoptees is that adopted parents fear the child will return to his biological parents unless they treat him kindly.

597 Exposition of one case will illustrate some of the complications and alterations that result from adoption. Lutu was adopted at the age of seven months by Va and Tevita; Va was Lutu's FMS but after the adoption Lutu called Va fa'e 'mother' and Tevita tamai 'father'. Va had one child of her own, a daughter, but the girl married young and left
597 home so Va wanted another child. When Lutu was nine years old, Va be-
763 came very ill and Lutu was sent back to live with his natural parents.
593 Va's illness continued for about a year and then she died; at that time Lutu ran away and returned to live with Tevita, his adopted father.
593 During the next few years Lutu's mother came several times to take him
597 to her home but each time he ran away and waited until she had left to
598 return. During this period there were a lot of hard feeling between Tevita and Lutu's biological parents. The last time Lutu's mother came to take him back he was seventeen and he told her he was old enough to decide for himself and he wanted to stay with Tevita.

597 When Lutu's biological mother died he did not go to her funeral,
764 but when his biological father died both he and his adopted father at-
593 tended the funeral. Lutu inherited nothing from his biological parents;
[428] all of their possessions went to a younger son. When Tevita died Lutu inherited all his possessions.

597 The case is also an example of how adoption creates alternatives
602 for the adoptee. Both Lutu's biological parents and adopting parents resided in the same village, but the biological parents had few kinsmen within the village while the adopting father had several kinsmen. By stressing his relationship with his adopting father, Lutu closely

597 602 aligned himself with six household heads within the village, two of which held strong positions of leadership.

Summary

858 181 Children are highly valued resources that satisfy certain social and psychological needs of Tongan adults. Those needs are, in turn, related to Tongan concepts of adulthood, parenthood, and family. Adop-
858 181 tion is one process through which children, as resources, can be con-
597 [593] trolled and redistributed. The adoption process, then, reveals a great deal about parent-child relationships generally and about the importance of children to Tongan adults.

597 602 Adoption is primarily a transaction confined to principals who are kinsmen. This strongly reflects the Tongan attitude that kinsmen constitute a close, more trustworthy group than do non-kinsmen.

Adoption results in a shift in the adoptee's kinship network without breaking ties established through biological parents. Consequently, the adoptee finds himself with increased options for affiliation and inheritance.

Comparison of Ideals and Behavior

602 431 437 The conscious model pertains only to the flow of goods between kinsmen, and in the sample of exchange events involving material items, sample B, there are 267 events in which exact genealogical information could be recorded. This sample is presented in Table 18.A The adoption [597] transactions provide another sample of 81 exchange events. In Table 19B both samples are presented in percentage figures to facilitate comparison.

128 In Table 19 each kin dyad is presented and the direction of flow of goods and children is indicated. Where (I) appears in the table, it marks the ideal direction of exchange.

Now I want to discuss each dyad in turn and will do so by referring to the number corresponding to the dyad in Table 19. In dyad number one 602 431 437 the flow of goods is predominantly in the ideal direction, but all adoption transactions involving this relationship are in the opposing direction. 183 597 For the adoption transactions the demographic fact that the tama in these transactions would be the only ones in possession of young children almost precludes exchange of children in the ideal direction.

In dyad number two which is the 'MB'-'ZC' relationship, there is a lower frequency than one would expect, yet this relationship is one in which exchange in the ideal direction is of paramount importance in the conscious model. The conscious model does not specify number but it does seem to imply a high frequency. The ideal direction of exchange does not predominate in a comparison with the opposing direction. The cases of adoption involving this relationship are too few to come to any conclusion except to note that this dyad is not frequently involved

A. [See pp. 108-110--Analyst] B. [See pp. 111-112--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

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TABLE 19

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction		Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequency of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
1. Fa'e - Tama	(I)**	7	0	8	34	+	+
Tama - Fa'e		12	34				
2. Fa'e Tangata - 'Ilamutu	(I)	4	1	7	1	-	+
'Ilamutu - Fa'e Tangata		4	0				
3. Foha - Tamai	(I)	4	0	12	0	-	0
Tamai - Foha		7	0				
4. 'Ofefine - Tamai	(I)	6	0	14	0	-	0
Tamai - 'Ofefine		8	0				
5. Fakafotu - Mehekitange	(I)	1	5	3	5	0	+
Mehekitange - Fakafotu		1	0				
6. Tokoua - Tokoua (Real)		18	24	18	24	0	0
" " (Paternal)		6	0	10	3	-	+
" " (Maternal)	(I)	4	3				
7. Tuonga'ane - Tuofefine	(I)	11	24	26	33	-	+
Tuofefine - Tuonga'ane		15	9				

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TABLE 19 (Continued)

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction	Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequencey of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Adoptions)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
8. Kui-Mokopuna	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mokopuna-Kui	1	0				

* All figures in percentages. Frequency based on 267 material exchanges and 81 adoption transactions.
** (I) indicates ideal model.

602 431 437 183 597 in adoption.

Dyad three is another instance where the ideal flow of goods does not predominate. No adoption transactions involved principals in this relationship. With a slightly higher frequency of exchange, dyad number four is very similar to dyad three.

Dyad five is another relationship where a high frequency of exchange is implied by the conscious model but is not present in the behavior pattern. The flow of goods appears to be balanced in this relationship. The flow of children in the adoption transactions does conform to the direction specified in the ideal model, with 5 percent of adoptees being obtained from 'BC' and none being obtained from 'FZ'.

Transactions transpiring between siblings of the same sex are presented in dyad six, and the exchange of goods again indicates that the conscious model is not being followed. In the adoption sample, 3 percent of the adoptees were obtained from matrilateral cousins and none were obtained from patrilateral cousins; this does conform to the conscious model. Direction of exchange is not specified for children of the same parents and sex.

Again in dyad seven the direction of exchange of goods does not conform to the conscious model. However, in the adoption transactions the conformity of behavior to the specifications of the conscious model is better. In dyad nine no direction is specified and there is a low frequency of exchange.

In Table 20 all exchanges are recorded as to whether or not they conform to the conscious model. Overall the pattern of behavior does

[See p.114--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

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TABLE 20

Conformity and Non-Conformity to Conscious Model by Percent

	Conforms	Does Not Conform	Not Specified*	Total
Goods	37	43	20	100
Children	33	43	24	100

* Direction not specified in the conscious model of kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 183 597 [121] not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior. This means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly describes kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 593 What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two relationships. [597] In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine individuals. [162] [594] I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

592 594 As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composi-
[594] tion. Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the rela-
593 tionships established within the household and the family of orientation
431 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and es-
437 tablished new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
431 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
437 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
602 constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
[166] kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical distribution of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
431 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
437 they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
[594] importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1]

597 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained,
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[For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

597 602 125 there were a total of eighty-four adoptions, three of which were cases where non-kin had been principals in the adoption transactions. So 592 602 4 percent of adoption transactions involve non-kinsmen while the com- 431 437 parable percentage for the transfer of goods is 49 percent. As stated above 50 percent of the exchanges in the sample involving material items 597 593 were between principals who were parent-child or sibling-sibling. The 431 437 comparable percentage figure for the adoption sample is 89 percent. I [858] interpret this to mean that because children are more important resources than are goods, they circulate within a much smaller, more closely related group.

602 431 437 The other characteristic of the behavior pattern is that transaction in terms of kin categories seems to be balanced rather than either the higher ranking or lower ranking categories being favored. The only explanation for this is that "balance" is an overriding concern in individual strategies, not only as mentioned for relationships between non-kinsmen but also between kinsmen. This situation of "balance" is not [597] present in the adoption sample, but certain demographic factors characteristic of Tongan adoption results in a one-way flow of adoptees that still does not conform to the conscious model.

597 Tongans adopt children as young as possible and young adults will be the persons possessing young children. So in cross generation transfers of children, the principal in the youngest of the two generations will be the donating parent rather than the adopting parent. For instance, in the Fa'e-Tama dyad, fa'e would probably be at the end of her childbearing years or beyond her childbearing years. Tama would be a

597 young woman just starting or in the midst of her childbearing years. Or tama could also be a man with a young wife. The same would hold true for other dyads with cross-generation principals like 'BC'-'FZ'. Given the adoptees are usually less than two years of age it would not he expected that middle-aged or old women would be donating adoptees to adopting parents.

Concerning Conscious Models

121 Conscious models in general reflect patterns of behavior with varying degrees of accuracy. To illustrate this assertion, I will compare two conscious models--the Tongan model of marriage with the Tongan model of kinship reciprocity. The model of marriage or at least certain aspects of it are followed closely in terms of behavior. For instance, the marriage model contains these principles: Two people cannot marry if they are kinsmen; a marriage must be condoned by both the groom's parents and the bride's parents; the marriage must be legally recognized and given religious approval by the church. Some of these principles are disregarded under penalty of law, i.e., it is illegal for persons to live together as man and wife if they are kinsmen or if their marriage has not been registered by the government. Further punishment is provided by the fact that children born of an unregistered marriage are illegitimate and, therefore, ineligible to inherit.

If parents disapprove of the marriage or if the marriage is not recognized by the church, the couple probably would be subjected to strong social sanction in the form of gossip or even social ostracism

NOTES (Continued)

Chapter V

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434 [1]Most schools in Tonga are parochial schools; however, school fees are paid for each child in all schools. Parents must also pay for school uniforms and some school supplies. The total amount varies considerably depending on the school, but between $T15.00 and $T25.00 a year per child is usually required.

Chapter VI

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121 [1]While children are important resources and there is an economic dimension present in adoption transactions, that was not the focus of my analysis of adoption. Rather, I attempted to focus on the social and psychological aspects of adoption which are the dimensions emphasized by Tongans.

The custom, which was an underlying issue in the first Vakalā case, eventually came to be explicitly argued in a number of later cases, and was finally codified in the 1953 Constitutional amendment (to Clause 111 on succession), concerned traditional adoption practices among chiefly kin groups. Adoption is the only example of the codification of custom in Tongan law. Codification occurred as a direct result of the continued appearance of an adoption issue in succession disputes. Adoption was and is a major feature of, not only Tongan, but Polynesian social organization in general. It is not

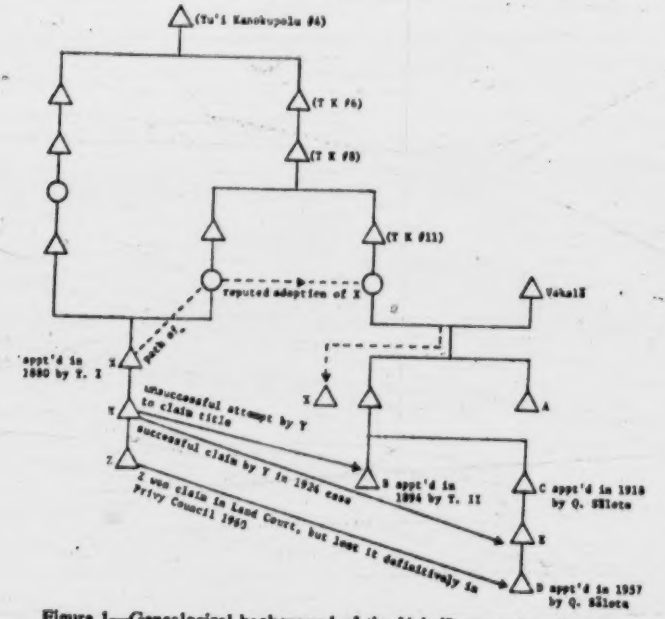
(Tu'i Kanokupolu #4)
(T K #6)
(T K #8)
(T K #11)
reputed adoption of X
Vakalā
appt'd in 1880 by T. I
X
Y
Z
unsuccessful attempt by Y to claim title
successful claim by Y in 1924 case
Z won claim in Land Court, but lost it definitively in Privy Council 1967
B appt'd in 1894 by T. II
C appt'd in 1918 by Q. Sālote
A
B appt'd in 1957 by Q. Sālote

Figure 1—Genealogical background of the Vakalā succession disputes.

intended to discuss adoption as such here, other than to trace how it developed as an issue in the title succession cases and finally to evaluate its significance for the Vakalā case. The facts of the Vakalā case are summarized below.

In his 1880 appointments, Tupou I not only elevated the status of the *matāpule* title Vakalā to the level of nobility; he also appointed a man, X, to the title who had gained renown as a warrior (*to'a*) and leader in support of Tupou I during his brief wars of unification, but who in retrospect had no blood connection with the previous descent line of Vakalā (see Fig. 1). Presumably, X's successors were to be the permanent line holding the Vakalā

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

title and estates. X died in 1887, leaving a single male heir, Y, who was a minor at the time. On X's death, Tupou I appointed a person from the pre-Constitutional descent line of Vakalā, A, apparently ignoring X's heir, Y. A died in 1894, and Tupou II again appointed a successor B, from the original descent line. B died in 1918 without issue, and Queen Sālote appointed another successor, C, in the original descent line. In the meantime, Y had matured and had tried to make a claim to Privy Council against B for the title that was held by his father in the original appointments. Y failed in this early attempt; it was apparently not known by Tupou II or the indigenous lawyers involved in the claim exactly what X's original connection to the Vakalā title was, but it was clear that A, B, and C were in the original pre-Constitutional descent line of Vakalā. In denying Y's claim, Tupou II presumed (without evidence) that Tupou I's intent in appointing X was that he should be a temporary trustee for a proper heir in the original line of descent.

With the establishment of a Land Court, Y formally placed his claim for the Vakalā title and estates (against the holder C) before it. Given the bias of the judge to give priority consideration to the published list of Tupou I's original appointees, Y, as son of the post-Constitutional, original appointee, won his claim in 1924, and both title and estates were to be transferred from C to Y.[11]

Queen Sālote objected to this decision because she apparently knew or had learned that X had reputedly been the adopted child of the Vakalā before the Constitution. The mother of X was a classificatory sister of an earlier Vakalā's wife, and it was presumed that, as was common practice in former times, X was given in adoption (*'ohi*) by his mother to her classificatory sister (the mother of Vakalā children), before the latter had children of her own. The child adopted matrilineally was considered a member of his adopting father's descent group, and as occasionally occurred, he assumed the title of that descent group, and its responsibilities, not only because he was the eldest male child, but also because it was sometimes the will of the descent group members that an adopted child should be the title-holder. However, a male child of the adopted title-holder would not succeed to his father's title. Instead, on the death of an adopted holder, the title would return to a successor in the original blood patriline. According to this view, Tupou I appointed X to the nobility because he happened to be the traditional holder of the Vakalā title at the time. Consequently after X's death, Tupou I appointed a successor in the original descent line in accordance with the customary procedures regarding the permanent status of children matrilineally adopted into patrilines different from their patrilines of origin.

[11] Actually, all income from the estates of Vakalā was transferred immediately to Y on Privy Council confirmation of the decision of Land Court in 1927, but C, aged and blind at the time, was permitted to formally hold the title until he died (in the early 1940's).

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

Two points must be noted about this explanation of the anomaly in the Vakalā succession. First, I know of no genealogical or other type of concrete evidence that X was in fact the adopted child of an earlier Vakalā. Rather this explanation seems to have been a deduction based on the existence of a matrilineal linkage which in fact was a common path of adoption in former times, but in itself does not constitute proof of adoption. Second, the post-Constitutional view as to the customary practice regarding adoption is *post facto* and is in part, as will be seen, a result of the use of adoption as an argument in succession case litigation. That is, beliefs about chiefly adoption practice became crystallized and eventually codified through litigation itself. Whether or not titles were held by single individuals (rather than used interchangeably among, for example, a set of siblings) in pre-Constitutional times or whether or not adopted holders always relinquished title honour to successors in the original patri-descent line are ambiguous issues. The significance of these issues was diminished by the fact that in post-Constitutional Tonga, titles *are* held by discrete individuals and there *is* a strong preference for maintaining titles within traditional descent lines, not only to ensure the legitimacy and continuity of the new order in terms of the old, but also it is believed that this preference had the force of law in pre-Tupou Tonga.

For whatever reason, the Privy Council upheld on appeal the decision of the Land Court Judge over Queen Sālote's objection, and Y's possession of the Vakalā title and estates was confirmed in 1927. The adoption issue had not been raised in court, since the initial Vakalā dispute was decided purely on the basis of the holder appointed by Tupou I in 1880. However, in 1945, a clever Tongan lawyer, defending the title-holder Puakafo'ou (an hereditary *matāpule* title) against a claimant, openly raised the adoption issue for the first time. The claimant argued that Tupou I had switched the title from his descent line to that of the defendant because he had been annoyed by the then title-holder's performance of his duties. Thus, the title, it was argued, should be returned to the original descent line. The defence lawyer demonstrated that the claimant in fact reckoned descent from an adopted holder of the title and that Tupou I in returning the title to the defendant's descent line was not punishing the claimant's line, but was instead adhering to a well-established Tongan custom of returning a title to the original descent line on the death of an adopted holder. Supported by the opinion of the Assessor advising the Land Court, the defence attorney's version of customary adoption practice was considered and accepted by the Land Court Judge (J. Richardson) in dismissing the plaintiff's claim. This decision was in turn upheld in Privy Council on appeal.

Thus, this customary practice, underlying the previous Vakalā and Ivilahi cases, finally surfaced in litigation, and on the basis of the 1945 Puakafo'ou case, became the precedent, unsupported by any legislation, for succeeding cases.

565 428 597 695 Like the issue of legitimacy, the issue of adoption came to be viewed by Tongan lawyers specializing in succession cases as an effective strategy in asserting claims or counterclaims concerning disputed titles about which there had been some anomaly in appointment.

565 428 597 671 Finally, a Constitutional amendment on adoption was passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1953 (the amendment was introduced from within the executive). The amendment incorporated a view as to what customary practice was regarding adoption in line with the version argued in the 1945 Puakafo'ou case. The amendment to Clause 111 of the Constitution on succession is as follows:

> Whereas by Tongan custom provision has always been made that an adopted child might succeed to the estates and titles of his adoptive father now therefore it is decreed that upon the death of the holder of an estate or title who has inherited such estate or title by virtue of his blood descent from such an adopted child the estate and title shall revert to the descendant by blood of the original holder of the estate and title in accordance with the provisions of this clause and should there be alive no such descendant by blood the provisions of the one hundred and twelfth cause shall apply. (Added by Act No. 15 of 1953.)

[695] This amendment was obviously designed to exclude any lines, descending from reputedly adopted holders, from claiming or holding titles in the future as well as to diminish the increasing and ambiguous use of an adoption argument to characterize genealogical obscurities and anomalies in succession disputes.

565 428 [643] The winner of the Vakalā title in the 1920's, Y, died in 1954, and after an unusual delay of three years, in 1957, Queen Sālote appointed D from the original descent line to the Vakalā title. This appointment was contrary to the expectations of the people of Vakalā's estate of Motu, who thought that Z, the eldest son of Y, would succeed. Employing the same attorney whom his father

565 428 695 [643] used in the 1923 case and who was a pioneer in the litigation of title disputes, Z challenged the appointment of D. Following the strict policy of most previous judges in giving first priority to the lines appointed by Tupou I (in the case of Vakalā, X's line) and accepting an argument that an application of the 1953 amendment in Z's case would be retroactive (and thus void), the Land Court Judge (D. Hunter) reversed the Queen's appointment (as had J. Scott in the 1923 case) and decided that the title and estates of Vakalā should be given to

[643] Z. In an important 1960 appeal decision of Privy Council (in which the present King, as Premier, participated), the lower court decision was overturned, the retroactive application argument was rejected, and the Queen's appointment of D was upheld. D is the present holder of the Vakalā title and estates.

[671] The then Chief Justice of Tongan Courts, although resident in Fiji, attended and advised Privy Council deliberations. He wrote a remarkable,

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

565 428 695 671 [643]

detailed brief supporting the Privy Council's decision, in which he argued away the retroactive application objection, but more significantly reversed the policy of previous Land Court Judges by stating (Hunter, 1963, p. 184):

> In our opinion therefore the term "the original holder of the estate and title" does not refer to the person appointed to hold the title at the time of the granting of the Constitution and the creation of Nobles at that time by H. M. King George I. It means the original holder of the title in the far distant past — long before the Grant of the Constitution in 1875 — from whom a claimant now must trace his descent before he can succeed to the title.

671 565 428 [597]

The Vakalā case was the last succession dispute to be fully litigated and ironically was the only one to be adjudicated on the basis of the 1953 amendment, which explicitly defined a customary issue that had underlain, but had not surfaced, in the original Vakalā case. The extreme view of the above Chief Justice that the 1953 amendment opened all potential cases for succession to the consideration of pre-Constitutional conditions was modified and reinterpreted in a 1965 brief to the King by the Secretary to Government (an indigenous attorney trained abroad), which concerned one of the vacant titles. It was held that only in terms of the now legally defined issue of adoption could pre-Constitutional succession be considered; otherwise, in all cases, the lines appointed at the Constitution must remain the standard of adjudication. The history of the Vakalā cases embodies an interesting process within Tongan law where an underlying customary issue (in the first Vakalā case) finally surfaced (in the 1945 case); was codified (in the 1953 amendment); was applied in law (in the second Vakalā case) and interpreted in terms of its extreme implications (which would have opened the entire pre-Constitutional era of custom and tradition to court litigation); and was finally contained and reintegrated within the bias toward excluding questions of custom from the legal codes through which Tongan society had been transformed.

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The broader historical issue underlying the Vakalā case and the definition of customary adoption, evolved through the succession disputes, concerns the traditional legitimacy, not only of the nobility, but of the present dynasty itself. With regard to Tupou I's anomalous appointments, the codification of the customary adoption practice suggests that Tupou I was scrupulous in observing traditional practices, not only in his establishment of the nobility, but by extension, in terms of the entire transformation that he brought about.

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The alternative version is that, for example, argued by the claimant in the 1945 Puakafo'ou case. Tupou appointed those to titles whom he personally favoured or those who had been his major supporters, regardless of whether or not these individuals were the most appropriate successors within the descent lines associated with these titles in the pre-Constitutional period. Furthermore,

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643 in the Vakalā case, a contemporary widely held opinion[12] concerning X is that
565 he was given the title by Tupou I because of his support and reputation as a
428 regional leader and warrior (*to'a*). Whether X was in fact an adopted child
661 or not (and there is certainly a case that can be made for either view) is
[597] irrelevant to many people. Adoption may have been the legal issue on which the dispute was determined, but the true reason why X was appointed to the Vakalā title was because he was important in Tupou I's unification of the traditional polity.

643 Thus, the nobility could be viewed as a traditionally legitimate continuity
565 with the pre-Constitutional title-holding lines or it can be viewed as the creation
661 of Tupou I of a clique of warrior upstarts through whose support the new order
428 was established. By implication, Tupou I can be seen as a reformer, who carefully respected custom by appointing those to titles who were already holding them within their chiefly kin groups or he can be seen as an upstart reformer, who manipulated or even ignored customary practices in achieving his ends. The truth probably lay somewhere in between and perhaps closer to the former
565 view. At any rate, in most instances, the noble title-holders were both the
428 most legitimate customary holders at the time of appointment as well as being the strongest leaders. It is only the cases of anomalous appointment that are
[643] strikingly ambiguous and subject to distinct alternative versions as to the intentions of Tupou I and the character of the new nobility in general.

643 Of course the authoritative and favoured view, underlying the evolution of
565 adoption as a point of law, is that Tupou I appointed his noble title-holders
428 first and foremost according to customary procedures. That is, the strength of
671 the appointees as supporters was always secondary to the customary appropria-
597 teness of their appointments. Irregular appointments, as in the case of Puakafo'ou
661 and Vakalā, could be explained by customary practice, according to this view. X as Vakalā might have been selected for inclusion within the new nobility as well as having been promoted from *matāpule* to noble status as a reward for his support, but it remains that X's association with the Vakalā title itself is a result of his association by adoption with the Vakalā patriline, and not because Tupou I seized the titles in some lines and distributed them at his own pleasure, regardless of the wishes of the descent groups involved. The fact that Tupou I

[124] [555] [12] I lived among the people of Vakalā's estate, Motu, with whom I discussed the Vakalā succession disputes. A frequent explanation that I heard was that although the Vakalā title had traditionally belonged to the line A-D, it was given by Tupou to X as a *pale* ('reward') for his support. This view assumes that *to'a* ('warrior abilities') was sometimes more important than *'eiki* ('chiefliness') at the time of the transformation, and warrior achievement was sometimes rewarded by *'eiki*-style rewards as in the Vakalā case. It was generally considered just that the Vakalā title should have been returned to its proper descent line, but there was also a sense of pity expressed for the line of X which eventually lost any formal recognition of its own heritage of *to'a* achievements, by being granted a title and estates in 1880 that were not his own. X earned noble status for the Vakalā title in the new order, and eventually the original descent line A-D repossessed this glory, earned for it by X.

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himself returned to the original descent line for a successor after X died and that power was in effect still too dispersed and independent at the time for him to have treated the chiefly groups so cavalierly strongly support the authoritative version. Alternatively, however, it may be argued that Tupou I appointed whomever was most powerful in the generation of his transformation and that only after anomalous initial appointees died and his rule as a new monarch was more secure, did he return to more traditionally appropriate appointments.

It is sufficient to leave the alternative interpretations of the place of Tupou I and his nobility in Tonga's transformation moot, having demonstrated the historical ambiguity concerning the nobility, directly raised by the succession disputes. Those holding the authoritative opinion and interested in the traditional legitimacy and continuity of the present dynasty are indeed conscious of and sensitive to the alternative view that Tupou and his nobility were upstarts, manifested in one form through the succession cases. The authoritative version presupposes, perhaps rightly, that those who hold this alternative view are ignorant of old chiefly Tongan custom to which Tupou adhered strictly. Regardless, the history of the Vakalā cases and the codification of a believed-in view of traditional adoption serve as a paradigm and expression of this fundamental issue in Tongan historical consciousness.

TO BE CONTINUED. 000

[pp. 242–283 not processed]

Arnhem Land Music, Oceania Monographs No. 9, which has been out of print for some time, has now been produced by xerographic process by University Microfilms Limited, and is obtainable from University Microfilms Limited, St. John's Road, Tylers Green, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, England at a cost of £7.50 (softbound) or £8.75 for a library binding. (These prices should be confirmed by writing to University Microfilms before placing firm orders).

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592 /65 cont./
342
343 household has three.

one cook hut, a small "bath" house, and a latrine hut. (186)

186. Of the 100 households in the village of 'Uiha, 12 have no cook hut, 19 have no small bath house and 17 have no latrine hut; in the 45 households of Fungamisi there are six without cook huts, 20 without small bath houses and five without latrine huts.

163 The Tongan family of today has an average of barely four children.
592 (187)

187. The figures worked out by the author for 'Uiha and Fungamisi are 3.8 and 3.7; deceased children were not counted, but included were those who had left to go to school in Tongatapu, etc.

592 In addition, there are adopted children, that is the children of
599 relatives, who are taken in by some families for a rather long period, often until they reach adulthood; (188)

188. For example, children of the husband's sister or brother, the wife's sister or brother.

children of fellow-villagers or other acquaintances are less often
162 adopted. "Adoption" assumes the following proportions: Of 289
599 children under 16 years of age in 'Uiha, 254 live with their natural parents and 35 with their adoptive parents. We find there a total of 23 families with adopted children (14 with one child each, six with two children each, three with three each). In Fugamisi, 11 of the 128 children under 16 years are adopted and live in seven families (four families with one child each, two with two children each, one
599 with three children). These adoptions are very seldom official (that is, for which a registration fee of two pounds was paid by the adoptive parents to the Supreme Court. /cited in English/). Usually, /66/ an adoption takes place if one day the small child of a relative (or fellow-villager) is asked for, and is taken into the household

/66 cont./

597 because the family, for example, has no child or no small children or only children of one sex. It also happens that a child may one day like to remain in the house of its playmates and that it begs its parents to give their consent. The rather involuntary adoptive parents often do not object to having the burden of another eater whom they must also clothe, especially if the child is a help in the house.

592 184 565 The statements and accounts given above refer in each case to all village inhabitants. These are mostly commoners. However, nobles and commoners who have risen to respected positions (clergymen, administrative officials, teachers, traders) also live in those villages. Their households do not differ much from those of the rest of the commoners. For example, in 1952 the widower Malupo (in 'Uiha), one of the highest ranking chiefs (nopele) on Tonga, lived together with his daughter, his grandson, the latter's wife and their four children on a property that consists of a small wooden living (=sleeping house, a cook hut, a small bath house and a latrine hut. The structure of family and household in the urban seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu is also very similar to that described on the small islands.

178 [175] The old sources naturally do not give us exact data that permit detailed comparisons of present-day Tongan family life with that of pre-European times.

178 565 [595] [594] We can, however, see that in general no great change has taken place in the family life of commoners. For polygamy was practiced mostly in the upper classes, and in ancient Tonga, as today, lower class families consisted of husband, wife and children (also adopted children). (189)

189. Compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 15ff.

/68 cont./

581 198 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)

586 177 194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)

587 586 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 162 178 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 565 198 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately the same number of persons as today. (196)

589 463 196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble workmen (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

597 Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 565 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).